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ACADIA

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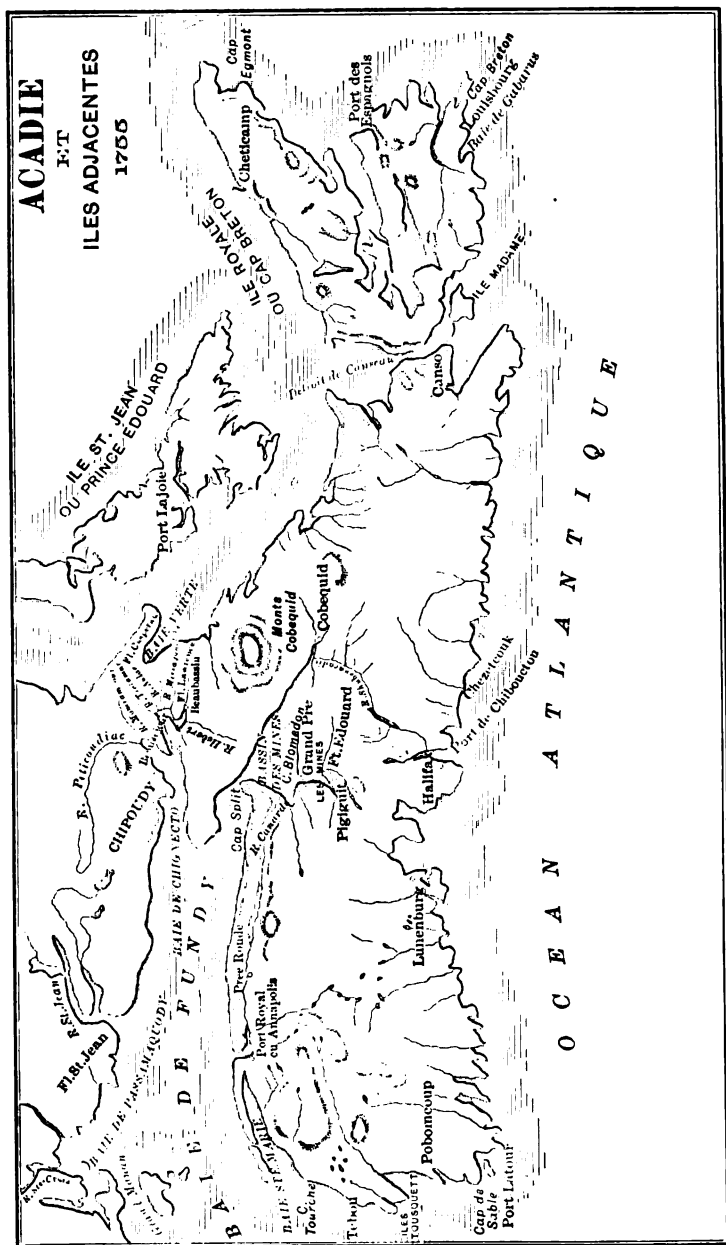
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EDOUARD RICHARD

ACADIA

MISSING LINKS OF A LOST CHAPTER

IN AMERICAN HISTORY

BY

AN ACADIAN

EX-MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF CANADA

VOL. II,

NEW YORK
HOME BOOK COMPANY
45 VESEY STREET

Can 323.8.2

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ACADIA:

MISSING LINKS OF A CHAPTER IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

CHAPTER XXVI.

June 6th, Lawrence, by a trick, confiscates 400 muskets—He orders the Acadians to give up the remainder of their arms—June 10th, Petition of the Acadians of Grand Pré and Piguit begging Lawrence not to oblige them to give up their arms—This Petition is not considered till July 8d; meanwhile, the arms are surrendered—The Petition is deemed insolent—New Petition—Lawrence's grievances—The Acadian delegates at first refuse the oath—The next day they offer to take it—Lawrence's refusal—They are put in prison.

THE taking of Beauséjour was an event of great importance. Though at the time there was a nominal peace, that so-called peace was really a long series of hostilities, which, hitherto smouldering, then burst out with extreme violence all along the frontier, from the Gulf to the Great Lakes, although war was not officially declared till almost a year later. The French occupation of the isthmus and of all the northern coast of the Bay of Fundy had been a source of trouble to the English and of broils between the two nations. For the Acadians the situation was still worse; critical as it was of itself, it had been aggravated on the one hand by the exactions and the severity of the English gov-

ernors, and, on the other, by the conduct of Le Loutre and the French authorities.

Naturally, the fall of Beauséjour ought to have removed from the English all motive for fearing the Acadians, if indeed there ever were any cause for such fear. What, indeed, was to be feared from a people who during forty-five years, in spite of all sorts of temptations and difficulties, not only never had recourse to arms, but never even withstood the most arbitrary commands? Since the majority of those who crossed the frontier did so only in self-defence, forced to fly by the Indians who had burned their houses; since the small number who took up arms for the French at Beauséjour did so only on compulsion, what reason was there to fear those who remained in the Peninsula, when the only strategic point that might favor revolt had fallen? To put this question is to answer it. No one knew this better than Lawrence. He had very exactly gauged the dispositions of those who lived on the French side. He knew that it would be impossible, as he himself admitted, except under enormous provocation or circumstances altogether abnormal, to force them to take up arms against the English. Now all these extraordinary conditions were verified all together at the siege of Beauséjour—with a result even better than what he had foreseen. Which of my readers is there, who, if he is convinced that the facts I have related are correct, can harbor any doubt as to the fidelity of those who lived in the Peninsula, far from the allurements of the French, surrounded by forts and soldiers to keep them in check, having to protect their families and their property, without any possible assistance from the French, having, in a word, everything to lose and nothing to gain

by revolt? All those conditions which might reasonably lead to the belief that those who lived with the French would take up arms for them, were in this case completely reversed. The Acadians on the other side of the frontier were undeniably French subjects, they had a right to take up arms; they would not, held back by scruples arising from a situation which, clear as it was, left doubts in the minds of simple straightforward people. The Acadians of the Peninsula, on the contrary, were British subjects; they were bound by an oath; they could have no doubt about their duty so long as they remained on English territory. Was there any reason to fear them? Impossible! The others were subjected to enormous pressure, both to convince them that they were French subjects and to force them to fight for France. The stubbornness of their resistance is well-nigh incredible, though no one can gainsay it. Can we, then, reasonably suppose that the peninsular Acadians, free from all pressure, without any possible contact with the French, would have resisted or even intended to resist or make mischief? The others were backed, protected by the French; they may have hoped that the French arms would prevail. These were completely dependent on the English; they could hope for neither support nor help from the French, now defeated, humbled and driven from all their strongholds on the Bay of Fundy. And yet, in such a plight, without the prospect of success, they could have been deemed dangerous, they could have been suspected of hatching a disturbance! The thing is impossible, ridiculous in the extreme!

If the above argument does not settle the question, all reasoning by analogy is futile. Lawrence was too

well aware of the dispositions of the Acadians to have a moment's doubt about them. Indisputable proof of this is afforded by that declaration of his to the Lords of Trade, quoted near the end of the last chapter.

But, then, how can we explain his behavior? Very simply: by interested motives, which will be made clear in the sequel; for, conclusive as the foregoing negative argument is, it is only a small part of my plea.

Almost a year had now gone by since Lawrence had made up his mind to a wholesale deportation of the Acadians. He was waiting for a favorable opportunity. That opportunity he was preparing with the patience of a mole and with all the skill that Clive and Hastings were, about the same time, displaying toward the natives of Hindostan. Imaginations in England were then greatly excited by the dazzling stories about the treasures of the rajahs, by the princely fortunes brought back from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras by the officers of the East India Company. America presented none of these tempting baits: no gathered treasure, no Nabobs to despoil, no Bengalese to tax unmercifully; but the fertile mind of Lawrence had seen the possibility of a transaction that might lead to similar results. Had he not under his thumb, isolated in this corner of the continent, a small nation of known peaceableness and docility? Taken one by one, these peasants had nothing that could tempt a man in search of honors and wealth; but their aggregate possessions would make him rich. So long as the French occupied the north of the Bay of Fundy, he could not realize his purpose. The capture of Beauséjour, the removal of the French would be necessary to screen him from grave danger. This was the opportunity he had long been preparing

for; the obstacle had disappeared; but some pretexts must be invented. The means he chose was oppression: he hoped that, by making the lot of the Acadians intolerable, he would drive them, through despair, to some acts of insubordination or resistance that should shield him from disgrace, if not from the censure of the Home Government. We are about to see how all his efforts in this direction failed; yet such was his determination that he deported them in spite of everything.

After careful consideration I am firmly convinced that the more Lawrence persecuted the Acadians, the more submissive were they and the more did they avoid giving him pretexts for severity. They had a vague presentiment that plots were weaving in the dark against their very existence. They saw with dismay how the iron hand laid upon them was drawing closer day by day the links of the chain that was to swathe and crush them. Whithersoever they looked, they discerned on all sides the signs of impending, inevitable woe; inevitable if they resisted, inevitable if they submitted, inevitable whether they refused or accepted the oath. Under Cornwallis and Hopson they could at least have hoped that, should they take the oath, their acquiescence would not be made a pretext to force them to fight against the French; under Lawrence no such hope could be indulged in; on the contrary, he would, must they have thought, take advantage of the oath to rivet them to the soil and expel their priests. In this extremity of peril, they deemed complete submission still the safest course toward the staving off or the lessening of their misfortunes; and, whether through a mutual understanding, as is likely, or through community of feeling arising from their condition, every-

thing they did bore the impress of the most thorough submissiveness. After all, they thought, the worst that can happen to us would be the order to quit the country without taking away any of our property. Painful as this alternative is, we once accepted it; we are ready to accept it again, if need be. Alas! in their honest simplicity they did not dream of another solution, a terrible solution; and this was not an alternative.

About the sixth of June, that is to say, during the siege of Beauséjour, Lawrence carried out the following project. A hundred men from Fort Edward and fifty from the garrison of Halifax were sent to Mines district to seize the arms of the inhabitants.* The plan was to pretend that these men were indulging in "a fishing frolic" on their way to Annapolis. The soldiers were to reach Grand Pré and the neighborhood in the evening, and, instead of sleeping in the barns as was their custom, were to distribute themselves two by two in the houses of the residents. At midnight they were to seize all arms and ammunition found in each house. It was an easy undertaking and succeeded perfectly without provoking any resistance. The next morning all the soldiers met at Grand Pré with the arms they had seized, put them on board a boat that had been waiting for that very cargo and carried them to Fort Edward.†

* At the head of the MS. from which I take the above details, is the following note in the handwriting of the Rev. Andrew Brown: "I have the date of this from a Petition. It occurred about the middle of June. Mode of disarming the Acadians—Judge Deschamps present. One of the parties pretending a fishing frolic on the river."

Beauséjour surrendered June 16th.

† These particulars, as well as many others that follow, are not in the volume of the Archives. The proceedings of the Council and other documents of that period were, as we shall see later, removed from the Archives. Dr. Brown, who resided at Halifax not long after the deportation, has

Immediately or at most a few days after this fine trick, an order was issued commanding all Acadians in the Peninsula to surrender their arms under penalty of being treated as rebels.* As may well be imagined, these measures were not likely to please the Acadians, still less to win their affection. Had they afforded any pretext for such arbitrary and irritating conduct? Not the slightest. After what we have seen the Acadians do at Beauséjour, it is well-nigh impossible to suppose that Lawrence's motive for this mean trick was the fear of insurrection. Such a supposition would be very strange if not ridiculous. And yet Lawrence undoubtedly had a motive, for everything tends to show that the deportation was not only practically determined on long since, but even arranged for by this time in all its details. It must be done and over during this season. There was no time to lose. The yoke must be made heavier, more galling; some new plan must be adopted to sting the Acadians into discontent and to provoke trouble. This alone can have been Lawrence's immediate motive in seizing the arms at Grand Pré and in the general order to the same effect. In order to gain time Lawrence did not wait for the capitulation of Beauséjour. As soon as he saw that the small garrison of this fort would not be reinforced from Louisburg nor assisted by the majority of the Acadian emigrants, and that the place would surely fall, he set about executing his project. True, besides his immediate motive of making trouble, he may have also intended to preclude,

pledged together a part of the story by means of verbal information, and sometimes by copies of the missing documents, obtained from the surviving counsellors of Lawrence as well as from persons who had been witnesses of the deportation.

* "I have this order—a new outrage." (Note in Dr. Brown's writing).

by a general disarmament of the Acadians, any danger of an insurrection at the critical moment of the deportation. But I maintain that, had he not also distinctly contemplated the arousing of discontent, this seizure of arms would have been not merely an unwise but an exceedingly perilous move, supposing, as some still believe, that the Acadians were a restless and disaffected people. For this highly provocative proceeding could only effect a partial disarmament, as the four hundred guns seized were probably not one-fifth of the whole number in the hands of the Acadians. Had they been rebellious and ripe for revolt, as Lawrence's seizure of arms implied, this was an infallible way of making the insurrection break out and become quite dangerous, and it was, moreover, the surest way of inducing them not to give up the remainder, *i. e.*, at least four-fifths of their arms. Now Lawrence was far too deep to commit so dangerous a blunder. The logical conclusion, based on a *reductio ad absurdum*, is, therefore, that Lawrence was so confident of the peaceable dispositions of the Acadians as to feel sure he ran no risk in seizing a small part of their arms. The same course of reasoning, however, leads to the further inference that he expected to provoke irritation, disobedience and perhaps local, though not dangerous, disturbances, which would warrant greater severity and thus justify the deportation he had in view. In this latter expectation he was mistaken; he provoked neither disobedience nor disturbance. Incredible as so thorough a submission may appear, it is none the less undeniable.

Mindful of the chastisement inflicted the preceding autumn on some of their friends who had momentarily

suspended, while awaiting an answer to their representations, the execution of Lawrence's arbitrary orders about furnishing wood, the Acadians this time unanimously executed the order about yielding up their arms. Directly after this order, they sent a petition to Lawrence, dated June 10th. This petition should have been taken into consideration before the day fixed for the surrender of the arms, since its object was precisely to obtain that the order be revoked. But Lawrence let the interval pass without a reply; it was not till long after the date of the surrender of arms that he consented to listen to them, on July 3d.

To avoid fresh oppression and fresh misfortunes, the Acadians handed in all their guns on the appointed day, and according to Judge Deschamps, quoted by Dr. Brown, the number of the guns was two thousand nine hundred. "These orders," says Haliburton, who had made only an approximate guess at the true inwardness of the drama then enacting, "were complied with in a manner which might certainly have convinced the Government that the Acadians had no serious intention of any insurrection, but, as Papists and Frenchmen, their submissions never gained much credit with their Protestant and English masters, by whom they were both hated and feared."

Not to speak of all the acts of obedience I have already related, acts which bear such eloquent testimony to the submissiveness of the Acadians, would not this one alone suffice definitely to establish their claim to this virtue? And yet Parkman is not convinced, or rather he makes believe not to be convinced, if, indeed he has taken any real pains to ascertain the true state of the case—which I very much doubt.

In the whole range of human history it is hard to find such complete submission under such arbitrary despotism. Assuredly nothing like it could be discerned in the history of New England. In fact, one feels tempted to blame the Acadians for having reached that excess of subjection which is fraught with danger. Perverse men are ever ready to profit by such dispositions. A time comes when the evils of subjection are greater than those which follow from resistance. That time had come for the Acadians as soon as Lawrence was appointed governor of the province. They did not realize this, and how could they, unless they read his inmost thoughts? Could they sound the depths of perversity in the mind of this ferocious brute? They could not help seeing that he seemed to seek pretexts for further oppression in order to obtain, if he could, the Home Government's approval of an order to quit the country. They were simple enough to think that, on his own responsibility, Lawrence could not, or would not dare, to proceed to this extremity; and, if he did, well, they would depart. Such was, I am convinced, their mistake and the reason why their submission was so exceedingly disastrous.

Lawrence must have been disappointed by their utter obedience. He had calculated that the seizure of a few hundred guns would be the most effectual means of stirring up revolt against the order to surrender the few thousand that remained in their hands. But the surrender was accomplished without affording the slightest pretext for complaint. What was he to do? He could not be at a loss, he whose power was absolute and whose despotism recognized no check. He found fault with their petition, which I now quote entire, so that the

reader may be in a position to judge by himself if its contents or its form deserved the reception it met with.

"To His Excellency Charles Lawrence,
Governor of the Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia, etc., etc.

"Sir,—

"We, the inhabitants of Mines, Piguit and the river Canard, take the liberty of approaching Your Excellency for the purpose of testifying our sense of the care which the Government exercises over us.

"It appears, sir, that Your Excellency doubts the sincerity with which we have promised to be faithful to His Britannic Majesty.

"We most humbly beg Your Excellency to consider our past conduct. You will see, that, very far from violating the oath we have taken, we have maintained it in its entirety, in spite of the solicitations and the dreadful threats of another power. We still entertain, sir, the same pure and sincere disposition to prove under any circumstances, our unshaken fidelity to His Majesty, provided that His Majesty shall allow us the same liberty that he has granted us. We earnestly beg Your Excellency to have the goodness to inform us of His Majesty's intentions on this subject, and to give us assurances on his part.

"Permit us, if you please, sir, to make known the annoying circumstances in which we are placed, to the prejudice of the tranquillity we ought to enjoy. Under pretext that we are transporting our corn or other provisions to Beausejour and the river St. John, we are no longer permitted to carry the least quantity of corn by water from one place to another. We beg Your Excellency to be assured that we have never transported provisions to Beausejour, or to river St. John. If some refugee inhabitants from Beausejour have been seized with cattle, we are not, on that account, by any means guilty, inasmuch as the cattle belonged to them as private individuals, and they were driving them to their respective habitations. As to ourselves, sir, we have never offended in that respect; consequently, we ought not, in our opinion, to be punished; on the contrary, we hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to restore to us the same liberty that we enjoyed formerly, in giving us the use of our canoes, either to transport our provisions from one river to another, or for the purpose of fishing; thereby providing for our livelihood. This permission has never been taken from us except at the present time. We hope, sir, that you will be pleased to restore it, specially in consideration of the number of poor inhabitants who would be very glad to support their families with the fish that they would be

able to catch. Moreover, our guns, which we regard as our own personal property, have been taken from us, notwithstanding the fact that they are absolutely necessary to us, either to defend our cattle which are attacked by the wild beasts, or for the protection of our children and of ourselves. Any inhabitant who may have his oxen in the woods, and who may need them for purposes of labour, would not dare to expose himself in going for them without being prepared to defend himself. It is certain, sir, that since the Indians have ceased frequenting our parts, the wild beasts have greatly increased, and that our cattle is devoured by them almost every day. Besides, the arms which have been taken from us are but a feeble guarantee of our fidelity. It is not the gun which an inhabitant possesses, that will induce him to revolt, nor the privation of the same gun that will make him more faithful ; but his conscience alone must induce him to maintain his oath. An order has appeared in Your Excellency's name, given at Fort Edward, June 4th, 1755, by which we are commanded to carry guns, pistols, etc., etc., to Fort Edward. It appears to us, sir, that it would be dangerous for us to execute that order, before representing to you the danger to which this order exposes us. The Indians may come and threaten and plunder us, reproaching us for having furnished arms to kill them. We hope, sir, that you will be pleased, on the contrary, to order that those taken from us be restored to us. By so doing, you will afford us the means of preserving both ourselves and our cattle.

"In the last place, we are grieved, sir, at seeing ourselves declared guilty without being aware of having disobeyed. One of our inhabitants of the river Canard, named Pierre Melançon, was seized and arrested in charge of his boat, before having heard any order forbidding that sort of transport. We beg Your Excellency, on this subject, to have the goodness to make known to us your good pleasure before confiscating our property and considering us in fault. This is the favor we expect from Your Excellency's kindness, and we hope you will do us the justice to believe that very far from violating our promises, we will maintain them, assuring you that we are very respectfully,

"Sir, your very humble and obedient servants."

This petition is, word for word, the translation given by the Compiler of the archives. If, considering the then circumstances, or in fact, any circumstances, this petition is not remarkably respectful, I confess myself

ignorant of what is meant by respect. Out of such material, Lawrence, who had been able to create no other grievance or pretext, was going to raise a storm of his own making, a storm without cloud or wind in a clear sky, and yet all the more terrible for that. The average reader, unaware of the faults Lawrence was going to find in this document, would be sorely puzzled to guess beforehand, on a careful perusal of this humble petition breathing submissiveness and sincerity, what points the Governor would fasten his fangs upon. However, the better to show the spirit that moved him and his determination to pick a quarrel, I must here add that, before Lawrence had expressed to the Acadians his view of their petition, the signers thereof learned that it was considered impertinent, and accordingly addressed to him another petition on the 24th of June as follows:—

GRAND PRE, June 24th, 1755.

"To His Excellency Charles Lawrence, etc., etc.

"Sir,—

"All the inhabitants of Mines, Piguit and the river Canard, beg Your Excellency to believe that if, in the Petition which they have had the honor to present to Your Excellency, there shall be found any error or any want of respect towards the Government, it is entirely contrary to their intention; and that in this case, the inhabitants who have signed it, are not more guilty than the others.

"If sometimes they become embarrassed in Your Excellency's presence, they humbly beg you to excuse their timidity; and if, contrary to our expectation, there is anything hard in the said petition, we beg Your Excellency to do us the favor of allowing us to explain our intention.

"We hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to grant us this favor, begging you to believe that we are very respectfully,

"Sir, your very humble and very obedient servants.

"Signed by forty-four of the said inhabitants in the name of the whole."

This new petition, still humbler than the first, should,

in the case of a humane governor, have sufficed to explain the intention of the first document and to remove all cause of offence, had any such existed. But Lawrence was not going to abate one jot of his fault-finding. On July 3d, the Acadian delegates were admitted to the governor's presence, and the following resolution was read to them :

"The Council having then taken the contents of the said Memorials into consideration, were unanimously of opinion that the Memorial of the 10th of June is *highly arrogant and insidious, and deserved the highest resentment.*"

To show them what Lawrence called the impudence of the petition, it was read to them clause by clause.

In answer to this sentence : "*That they were affected with the proceedings of the Government towards them,*" they were told :

"That they had always been treated with the greatest lenity and tenderness. That they had enjoyed more privileges than English subjects, and had been indulged in the free exercise of their religion. That they had at all times full liberty to consult their priests, and had been protected in their trade and fishery, and had been for many years permitted to possess their lands (part of the best soil of the province), though they had not complied with the terms, on which the lands were granted, by taking the oath of allegiance to the crown.

"They were then asked whether they could produce an instance that any privilege was denied to them, or that any hardships were ever imposed upon them.

"They acknowledged the justice and lenity of the Government.

"Upon the paragraph where '*They desire their past conduct might be considered,*'

“It was remarked to them that their past conduct was considered, and that the Government were sorry to have occasion to say that their conduct had been undutiful and very ungrateful for the lenity shown them. That they had no returns of loyalty to the crown or respect to His Majesty’s Government in the province. That they had discovered a constant disposition to assist His Majesty’s enemies and to distress his subjects. That they had not only furnished the enemy with provisions and ammunition, but had refused to supply the inhabitants or Government with provisions, and when they did supply they have exacted three times the price for which they were sold at other markets. That they had been indolent and idle on their lands, had neglected husbandry and ^{be.} cultivation of the soil, and had been of no use to the province either in husbandry, trade or fishery, but had rather been an obstruction to the king’s intentions in the settlement.

“They were then asked whether they could mention a single instance of service to the Government. To which they were incapable of making any reply.”

Upon reading this paragraph—

“It seems that Your Excellency is doubtful of the sincerity of those who have promised fidelity. That they have been so far from breaking their oath that they had kept it in spite of terrifying menaces from another power—”

“They were asked what gave them occasion to suppose that the Government was doubtful of their sincerity; and were told that it argued a consciousness in them of insincerity and want of attachment to the interests of His Majesty and his Government. That, as to taking their arms, they had often urged that the Indians would annoy them, and that by taking their arms

by act of Government it was put out of the power of the Indians to threaten or force them to their assistance.

Upon reading this paragraph—

“ Besides, the arms we carry are a feeble surety for our fidelity. It is not a gun that an inhabitant possesses, which will lead him to revolt, nor the depriving him of that gun that will make him more faithful, but his conscience alone ought to engage him to maintain his oath.—”

“ They were asked what excuse they could make for their presumption in this paragraph, and treating the Government with such indignity and contempt as to expound to them the nature of fidelity, and to prescribe what would be the security proper to be relied on by the Government for their sincerity. That their consciences ought indeed to engage them to fidelity from their oath of allegiance to the king, and that, if they were sincere in their duty to the crown, they would not be so anxious for their arms, when it was the pleasure of the King's Government to demand them for His Majesty's service.

“ They were then informed that a very fair opportunity now presented itself to them to manifest the reality of their obedience to the Government by immediately taking the oath of allegiance in the common form before the Council. Their reply to his proposal was, that they were not come prepared to resolve the Council on that head. They were then told that they very well knew for those six years past the same thing had often been proposed to them and had been as often evaded, under various frivolous pretences; that they had been often informed that some time or other it would be requested of them and must be done, and

that the Council did not doubt but they knew the sentiments of the inhabitants in general, and had fully considered and determined this point with regard to themselves before now, as they had been already indulged in with six years to form a resolution thereon.

“They then desired they might return home and consult the body of the people upon this subject, as they could not do otherwise than the generality of the inhabitants should determine, for that they were desirous of either refusing or accepting the oath in a body, and could not possibly determine till they knew the sentiments of their constituents.

“Upon this *so extraordinary a reply*, they were informed they would not be permitted to return for any such purpose, but that it was expected from them to declare on the spot, for their own particulars, as they might very well be expected to do after having had so long a time to consider upon that point. They then asked leave to retire to consult among themselves, which they were permitted to do, when, near after an hour's recess, they returned with the same answer, that they could not consent to the oath as prescribed without consulting the general body, but that they were ready to take it as they had done before; to which they were answered: That His Majesty had disapproved of the manner of their taking the oath before. That it was not consistent with his honor to make any conditions, nor could the Council accept their taking the oath in any other way than as all other His Majesty's subjects were obliged by law to do when called upon, and that it was now expected they should do so; which, they still declining, they were allowed till the next morning

at ten of the clock to come to a resolution. To which time the Council then adjourned.

"The next day, the Council being met according to adjournment, the Acadian deputies who were yesterday ordered to attend, were brought in, and upon being asked what resolution they were come to in regard to the oath, they declared they could not consent to take the oath in the form required without consulting the body. They were then informed that, as they had now for their own particulars, refused to take the oath as directed by law, and thereby sufficiently evinced the sincerity of their inclination towards the Government, the Council could no longer look on them as subjects to His Britannic Majesty, *but as subjects to the king of France, and as such they must hereafter be treated*; and they were ordered to withdraw.

"The Council, after consideration, were of opinion that directions should be given to Captain Murray to order the Acadians forthwith to choose and send to Halifax new deputies with the general resolution of the said inhabitants in regard to taking the oath, and that none of them should for the future be admitted to take it after having once refused so to do, *but that effectual measures ought to be taken to remove such recusants out of the Province.*

"The deputies who had just withdrawn were then called in again, and having been informed of this resolution, and finding they could no longer avail themselves of the disposition of the Government to engage them to dutiful behavior by lenity or persuasion, *offered to take the oath*, but were informed that, *as there was no reason to hope their proposed compliance proceeded from an honest mind, and could be esteemed only*

the effect of compulsion and force, and is contrary to a clause in an act of Parliament I. George II. chap. 13, whereby persons who have once refused to take oaths cannot be afterwards permitted to take them, but considered as Popish Recusants. Therefore, they would not now be indulged with such permission. And they were thereupon ordered into confinement."

The foregoing documents I have reproduced in their entirety or in their essential parts, in spite of their length, because I consider them as the key to the situation. Far from shirking difficulties, I hunt them up; I am on the look-out for anything that may throw light on this lost chapter; I have a special preference for choosing what the Compiler has deemed unfavorable to the Acadians; and, as far as I can, I endeavor to enable the reader to judge for himself. Almost invariably we have nothing but the Government version of facts. If this version proves Lawrence's action unjustifiable, it must be emphatically so. What further iniquity might be revealed, were there in existence a plea for the other side, and could we but get at the hidden motives that are forever buried beyond our ken? Although in the above extracts we have the unusual good fortune of reading a petition from the Acadians themselves—a favor which we no doubt owe to the strictures passed upon it—still it is none the less Lawrence's case stated by himself, drawn up with care and with his own remarkable skill, in view of future self-defence, should such be needed.

Philip H. Smith, in his book, "*Acadia—a Lost Chapter in American History*," refers as follows to the matter in hand:

"We open the chapter by allowing this simple people to tell the

story of their suffering and wrongs in the following Memorial to Governor Lawrence, under date of June 10th, 1755, previous to the fall of Beausejour and other French reverses on the Peninsula. We mention this, as otherwise it might be said they were disheartened, and came to sue for peace only after having lost all hope. We ask the candid reader to peruse the document carefully, and judge for himself whether the strictures put upon it by Governor Lawrence are just or otherwise."

The same question is in order here. What can be pleaded in defence of the arbitrary and insulting methods which Lawrence employed in order fraudulently to take away the arms of the Acadians? Had they been guilty, I will not say of insurrection, of taking up arms, of insubordination, of resistance to orders, but of anything whatever that might cast the slightest reasonable doubt on the maintenance of peace? Are there any such facts alleged? If so, let them be recited. On which side was the provocation? Was it not altogether on Lawrence's part? Who were the insulted parties, if not the Acadians themselves, against whom such deeds of duplicity were done? Where was the danger, since even when thus provoked, they yielded up at the first intimation, without resistance, whatever arms they possessed, at the very moment when expressions of mistrust seemed to suggest that they should disobey and not throw themselves upon the mercy of a man whose cruelty was notorious? Danger? Was not Lawrence creating it by running the risk of exasperating a peaceful people who had weapons enough, even after this first seizure, to imperil the province? Can any one believe that he would have acted in this absurdly dangerous fashion, had he entertained any doubt of their fidelity? Lawrence was too artful to take such a leap in the dark. He was fully aware that, firm and even stubborn though

this people might be, they were peaceable and law-abiding, and that he might harry them with impunity.

Over and over again have I read that petition which Lawrence and his council find so arrogant and so insulting to the King. I cannot for the life of me find in it anything but a clear and precise document, expressed in the humblest and most submissive language. The only fault I am inclined to see in it is that it seems too submissive after the shameful treatment of the Acadians which was the occasion of this petition. Let the reader ask himself if, under such circumstances, he would confine himself to so respectful a document. To my mind it is not the accused, but the accuser, Lawrence himself, on whom the guilt of insolence rests. If the petition was insolent, it was because Lawrence was arrogant and brutal and was seeking his own interest in finding it insolent. He took advantage of his power to divert attention from his own odious conduct by words of seemingly honest indignation which were in very truth applicable to himself alone. Knowing, as we do, with what severity he visited the only case of disobedience—if indeed it was disobedience—which occurred during his administration, we are justified in refusing to accept his vague and general accusations and in insisting on detailed proofs. Had his rebuke been merited, he would undoubtedly have supported it there and then with specific facts; whereas at no time, whether before or after or at this juncture, did he deal in anything but high-sounding generalities.

Before the thunders of his high mightiness, these poor people could only bow their heads and stammer out excuses to him who brooked no discussion nor explanation. What was the use of answering a pas-

sionate tyrant who was determined beforehand to find fault with everything they might say? How dare they contradict his assertions when he paused for a reply? They were too prudent to do so. They knew that if they did they would be considered doubly impudent. So they chose to be silent. Hence in the report those passages: "They acknowledged the justice and lenity of the Government;" "they were incapable of making any reply." But, if they could only hang their heads and hold their tongues, history can decide which was the insolent party. The lineal descendant of Lawrence's victims can, though late, now rend the veil that still hides his infamy, and brand his memory as that of a scoundrel.

Let us examine his accusations one by one. He charges the Acadians with having secretly assisted the Indians, in the face of the fact that, for the past five years, not one group of Indians had resided in the Peninsula or in the neighborhood of the Acadians. Since Cornwallis had set a price on their heads, they all dwelt on the French side at Beauséjour, from which the Acadian settlements were separated by long distances. Besides, it is well known that the Acadians near the frontier and at Cobequid had much to suffer from the Indians at a time when Forts Lawrence, Edward and Vieux Logis were not yet built. Under these circumstances it is difficult to understand on what foundation Lawrence's charge could rest.*

He next charges them with not giving "timely intelligence" of the movements of the French. This accu-

* Mr Prevost, writing to the Minister on the 27th of September, 1750, said, of the Acadian refugees at Beauséjour *on French territory*; "The English have come down to Beauséjour to found a settlement. The Indians want to molest them, but the Acadians will not allow it."

sation can refer only to the French raids from 1744 to 1748. Although their position as *Neutrals* might have been interpreted as relieving them from the duty of informing the authorities, nevertheless, they did give valuable information on many occasions. I have mentioned some of these in the course of this work, among others, the French attack on Grand Pré. When they warned Colonel Noble of the project they had wind of, he laughed at them, with the result we know.* There are repeated proofs that, in all these raids, the French, for fear of that "timely intelligence" communicated by the Acadians to the English, took the precaution of guarding all the roads. We see that they did so before the Grand Pré fight: "As it was intended," says Campbell (Hist. of N. S. page 95), "to take the English by surprise, the woods were guarded, so that intelligence might not reach them." See also Murdoch, vol. II., page 106. Other instances of this *timely intelligence* furnished by the Acadians to the English authorities, are to be found at pages 133, 138, 147, 152, 155, 157, 177-183, and 605 of the volume of the Archives itself; and in Murdoch, vol. I., page 411; vol. II., pages 18-25, 42, 73-76.

Of course there may, or rather must have been instances of an opposite character. To deny this would argue ignorance of human nature. But the only important juncture where ignorance of the facts was disastrous to the English was the Grand Pré raid, and we have just seen that the Acadians deserved thanks, not blame, for their conduct then. If Lawrence had any special charge in view, it must have been this case, which is the only one specified, and on which the Aca-

* Hannay—Murdoch.

dians had to offer an explanation. They readily did so and if we now are certain that they gave information of the designs of the French, we owe that knowledge to this investigation, failing which historians would still go on borrowing from each other, as an unquestionable historical fact, a charge which we know to be false. To find pretexts Lawrence was obliged to go back eight or nine years and condemn the behavior of the Acadians when it had been repeatedly praised by Governor Mascarene, and in spite of the fact that the few culprits during this war were denounced by the Acadians themselves and punished.

"That many of them had even appeared in arms against His Majesty." This accusation, if true, could only refer to the three hundred Acadians who had just been taken armed at the surrender of Beauséjour, and who had been pardoned by Monckton because they had taken up arms under penalty of death; and thus this charge had nothing to do with the men whom Lawrence had before him.

"That they had been indolent and idle on their lands, had neglected husbandry and the cultivation of the soil and have been of no use to the Province, either in husbandry, trade or fishery, but had been rather an obstruction to the King's intentions in the settlement."

These accusations are at once childish and false. Even were they true they were out of place in such a meeting. At any rate they show how difficult it was for him to fabricate grievances. If the Acadians had really been unthrifty the preponderating blame must fall on their Governors. For forty years they were refused titles to their lands as well as the privilege of

taking up new homesteads, and were thus condemned to live on small parcels of land which paralyzed their ambition and energy. And yet, in spite of this parcelling out, they produced more than was needed for the whole Province. "Your lands," Cornwallis said to them, "produce grain and nourish cattle sufficient for the whole Colony. We are well aware of your industry and your temperance, and that you are not addicted to any vice or debauchery."

"I found it," Winslow said two months after this meeting, when he was about to proceed to deport the Acadians, "a fine country and full of inhabitants, a beautiful church, abundance of the goods of this world, and provisions of all kinds in great plenty."

"Mr. Cornwallis can inform your Lordships," Hopson wrote to the Lords of Trade, "how useful and necessary these people are to us, how impossible it is to do without them, or to replace them even if we had other settlers to put into their places."

Two years had not yet elapsed since the writing of these lines. No change had taken place, save that a tyrant had succeeded an upright and honest man. What the one had seen and judged with the noble instincts of a man, the other had seen and judged with the instincts of a brute intensified by low greed. The Acadians had been reproached with a too exclusive devotedness to the fisheries and the fur trade in the beginnings of the colony. Lawrence now finds means to twit them with a too exclusive devotedness to agriculture. We shall see how, later on, the English colonists, who occupied these same lands begged the Governor to allow them to employ the Acadians in rebuilding the dikes which they could not build themselves.

I pass on to the last objection, which seems to have been deemed the gravest, the most insolent. I crave the reader's pardon for delaying him so long with what he and I must look upon as trifles. My excuse is the importance attached to this petition apparently so humble and so respectful. Harmless as this document may seem, everything is made to turn upon it; Lawrence makes a mountain out of this mole-hill. We are therefore forced to look at it on every side as he does. For any one that will take the trouble to reflect, to penetrate the character and motives of this man and to pass judgment on the events in which he was the prime mover, this particular item holds the mirror up to him with striking fidelity.

Here is the insolent paragraph :

" Besides, the arms we carry are a feeble surety for our fidelity. It is not a gun that an inhabitant possesses, which will lead him to revolt, nor the depriving him of that gun that will make him more faithful, but his conscience alone ought to engage him to maintain his oath."

"They were asked what excuse they could make for their presumption in this paragraph, and treating the Government with such indignity and contempt as to expound to them the nature of fidelity, and to prescribe what would be the security proper to be relied on by the Government for their sincerity."

An interpretation such as this supposes no mean exercise of the imagination. Far from presenting any real cause for complaint, this paragraph is a proof of good faith and honesty of purpose. This language of the Acadian petitioners sets forth in a striking way how much they valued their oath of fidelity. This was the

impression these poor people had hoped to create. They no doubt flattered themselves that this very paragraph would convince Lawrence that conscience was their guiding star. But they were expostulating with a man who had no conscience. It was the old fable of the wolf and the lamb. In vain did the poor little lamb reply that he could not possibly make the water muddy, since he was drinking down stream, that he could not have been guilty of the slander the wolf charged him with, since at the time mentioned he was not yet born; he was devoured. There is no reasoning with the maw of a famished wolf. Lawrence's grievances and rage had no more valid motives than the wolf's. It was a storm in a teapot, but one that was to scatter to the four winds of heaven a gentle and peaceable people, in order that the persecutor might fatten on their spoils.

After having stood the fire of Lawrence's reproaches, the Acadian delegates were requested to take there and then an unrestricted oath. They begged to be allowed to return to their homes in order to consult with their people and come to a unanimous decision on the question. If Lawrence sincerely wished to obtain this oath, he would have shown wisdom and good policy by granting this easy favor, from which no harm could come. Instead of acceding to their prayer, he gave them twenty-four hours for a final answer. The next day their answer was the same: We are, said they, delegates each one from his own district; we cannot, either in our own name or in that of the people, make any pledge without consulting all our fellow-countrymen; we wish to come to a decision, whether for or against, which shall be the same for all. They were told that the

Council could no longer consider them as subjects of His Britannic Majesty, *but as subjects of the King of France, and as such they must hereafter be treated.* Would to God they had been, subsequently, treated as subjects of the King of France!

If, on account of their refusal to swear allegiance in the ordinary way, they were looked upon as French subjects, the Acadians ought to have been allowed to go away as they had begged and implored many a time but always in vain. It was not by their own will they were there, but by the restraint of their governors. And if, on account of that refusal, they became once more French subjects, why had Lawrence himself addressed a proclamation to those who had left the country five years before, declaring that they were not released from their oath of fidelity, that they would be considered as British subjects and treated as rebels if found armed?

In this entire petition there is but one sentence which, malevolently interpreted, might give umbrage to a despot; and even of this sentence we know not if it has been correctly translated. At any rate, we must bear in mind how they had been provoked by the clandestine seizure of their arms. Besides, the second petition, protesting that the first was well meant, ought to have sufficed to convince Lawrence of their sincerity and good intentions. Murdoch says of this petition and of those that followed it: "The different Memorials of the Acadians are long and argumentative, and are couched in respectful language."

On the refusal to take the oath immediately, the Council decided that instructions should be sent to Captain Murray, bidding the Acadians name new delegates, that,

should they not take the oath, measures should be taken to expel these Popish recusants from the province. The delegates were then called in and informed of this decision. In the face of this threat, indefinite but terrible, they offered to take the oath. "Too late," replied Lawrence; "your consent is but the offspring of fear; it comes not of a sincere attachment to His Majesty; there is an Act of Parliament against admitting you now to the oath; you can no longer be looked upon otherwise than as Popish recusants."

Lawrence had foreseen that nothing short of extraordinary measures could drive the delegates to a decision without first consulting their constituents. Despite his hardihood, he would have been greatly embarrassed if the delegates had immediately accepted his proposals, had he not accurately guessed how they would behave. He was ready for every emergency: should they end by consenting, that Act of Parliament was at hand to checkmate them. His plan would have been endangered by their return to their constituents: for there was reason to fear lest the delegates, having offered to take the oath, should persuade the others to do likewise; and, as the oath was merely a pretext to mask his plan, a general offer to take it would have caught him in his own trap. Therefore, to get out of the difficulty, he put the delegates in prison. "It does not appear," says Philip H. Smith, "that the men thus summarily imprisoned, were proven guilty of assisting the king's enemies or refusing to supply the Government with provisions, nor even that they were individually charged with the offence, neither did the Council make any but a general accusation of a constant disposition to distress the English subjects without deigning to support the

charge with a single instance circumstantially proven, or ever asserted."

Had the Acadians taken Lawrence at his word and sworn allegiance without reserve, we must infer that they would have been allowed to remain unmolested on their farms. Would he have acted thus with rebels or people inclined to revolt? Their oath of fidelity bound them just as firmly to loyalty as the oath which he now proposed to them. If they were rebellious and dangerous, what was the use of a new oath? No; it is quite evident that the dispersion of the Acadians and the unspeakable woe brought upon them were not caused by the dread of danger. There remains but one cause, and that merely the semblance of one: the refusal of the oath. Were this a bona fide motive, the deportation would still be a monstrous crime, though without profit for its author. He would have committed it when he had everything to lose and nothing to gain. This cannot be: because all the precautions he took to hide his projects from the Lords of Trade show that he was playing a risky game, where the stake must have been tempting enough to counterbalance the risk he was about to run. Wherefore we are justified in concluding that the oath was but a pretext, and that the true motive of the deportation was some tangible advantage to be gained by Lawrence.

Finally, if the Acadians could have been dangerous when they had arms, what was to be feared now that they were deprived of them and that the surrender of these arms had been effected without resistance, everywhere, upon a mere command? How could they be dangerous when their boats had been confiscated, and

when the French had been expelled from all their strong holds on the coast?

Let Mr. Parkman answer this question, he who, in order to prejudge the matter, has not so much as alluded to the seizure of arms and boats, he who has carefully eschewed whatever could throw light on this ignoble tragedy.

CHAPTER XXVII.

June 28th Lawrence announces to the Lords of Trade the taking of Beauséjour—He says he has ordered Monckton to expel the Acadians from Beauséjour—July 15th Lawrence gets Boscowen to approve the expulsion—Which had long since been decided upon—Proofs—Morris's report—Lawrence seeks pretexts—His letter of July 18th to the Lords of Trade—He disguises his designs—July 25th one hundred Acadian delegates appear before Lawrence—Refusal of the oath—They are imprisoned—The priests carried off—Letter from Daudin.

THE material part of the deportation was henceforth an easy matter. But there remained another far more serious difficulty: so barbarous an act could surely not be accomplished without the consent of the metropolitan authorities. This consent was out of the question. Never would England sanction such an infamous deed. Should the situation become unbearable, should the Acadians rebel, England would prefer to annihilate them on the spot by force of arms rather than to lend herself to a project like that which Lawrence had conceived. However the Home Government must be gradually prepared for some such issue; hence it was that, in the preceding year, when he gave a sombre picture of the Acadians, he had vaguely intimated "*it would be better that they were away.*"

On the 28th of June, 1755, less than two weeks after the evacuation of Beauséjour, and a few days before the consideration of the petition just analyzed, Lawrence, announcing this event to the Lords of Trade, added:

"The deserted Acadians are delivering up their arms, I have given him (Monckton), orders to drive them out of the country at all events though, if he wants their assistance in putting the troops under cover, he may first make them do all the service in their power."

This letter would imply that Monckton had orders that he should command such Acadians as dwelt in the territory which France had just evacuated to quit the country, and, in case of refusal, that he should constrain them thereto by force of arms. Yet this was not Lawrence's intention; far from it; but it did not suit his purpose to unveil clearly to the Lords of Trade his plan. He had to leave them under an indefinite, half-and-half impression, by way of preparation for the extreme measures he had resolved upon. Before announcing his intentions with regard to those who had remained quiet on their lands in the Peninsula, it was better to make mention of those only who had long been refugees at Beauséjour, and about whom the Lords of Trade would feel less concern. Almost any piece of audacity may be made a success if prepared with skilful gradation. This was the second step. Were the "deserted Acadians" expelled in accordance with the order he said he gave Monckton? By no means. He took good care that no such expulsion should take place. We shall soon see that he was completely successful in creating the indefinite impression he wished in the minds of the Lords of Trade; and we shall also see that his project, mutilated as it was and presented in a softened aspect, gave rise to alarm and was severely blamed; but it was too late then, the crime was consummated.

Lawrence shows us by this letter that even these Acadians refugees obeyed the order to deliver their

arms. To all appearances they were peaceable and submissive, and Lawrence entertained no fears about them, since he intended, before expelling them, to employ them on the fortifications of Beauséjour.

Another point, which proves that Lawrence sought to prejudice the Lords of Trade against the Acadians, is that in his letter he makes no mention of the fact that the three hundred Acadians found armed at the surrender of Beauséjour were pardoned by Monckton because they had taken up arms only under pain of death.* Surely this was important enough to deserve mention. With a similar end in view, writing to the Lords of Trade the preceding year, he told them that those who had crossed the frontier had done so "*willingly*," although he was aware that the contrary was the truth. And, after all, where was the guilt of those three hundred Acadians, French subjects, taken with arms which they had accepted only under pain of death, especially when we know that many of them deserted, and that, at last, those who remained absolutely refused to fight? Moreover, if they were pardoned, why should they be punished? And the one thousand two hundred others, on the French side, who stubbornly refused to go to the fort and arm themselves, what were they guilty of? All these considerations afford clear proof of their peaceable dispositions, a proof which applies with still greater force to the Acadians of the Peninsula.

Not daring openly to ask the Lords of Trade to approve his project of deportation, Lawrence sought support elsewhere. He needed some one, outside of his

* The articles of the Beauséjours' capitulation, so important, are likewise omitted by the Compiler.

council, to share with him the heavy responsibility he was going to assume. He must secure a defence beforehand and prepare a plea of urgency to justify himself. Probably because his audacity was dreaded he had received orders—he himself tell us so—to consult the commander of the fleet in every unforeseen juncture that threatened the security of the Province. These orders he turned to his own advantage and thus obtained the support of the Vice-Admiral then at Halifax, Boscawen, aptly nicknamed "Heart of Oak." He was just the man for Lawrence, who knew his dispositions and had skilfully prepared him to accept the cherished plan.

"The Lieut.-Governor acquainted the Council that he was instructed by His Majesty to consult the Commander-in-Chief of the fleet, upon any emergency that might concern the security of the Province."

The next day Boscawen, accompanied by his assistant, Mostyn, appeared before the Council:

"They approved of the said proceedings, and gave it as their opinion, that it was now the properest time to oblige the said inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance or quit the Country."

The trick was thus successfully played. This occurred July 14th, 1755.

The reader should not forget that he is face to face with a man of consummate artfulness, with a house-painter's apprentice who, by sheer duplicity, has in a few years raised himself to an exalted position. The superiority of his intelligence would of itself suffice to account for his success. One would have to be very simple to believe that the events I have just related were the result of unforeseen accidents, which Lawrence

met as best he could from day to day. His letters to the Lords of Trade, the seizure of arms, his feigned indignation, his imaginary grievances, his consultations with Boscawen, all this was but the get-up of the drama he was preparing, so many means to an end. Happily, to enlighten us as to his intentions, we now have access to a document, which had long ago disappeared from the Archives and was discovered by the Rev. Andrew Brown. It affords a strong presumption that Lawrence had resolved upon the deportation long before the siege of Beauséjour, and that, as a consequence, his grievances, his special pleading anent the oath, etc., had nothing to do with his decision. True, this document is undated, but it bears intrinsic evidence that it was drawn up before the events I have related above. Mr. Grosart, the finder and purchaser of Brown's MS., wrote at the bottom of this document: "This invaluable paper was drawn up by Judge Morris *early in 1755*."

Morris, then Provincial Surveyor, had been charged by Lawrence with the preparation of a report on the most effectual method of deporting the Acadians. His report is very long and replete with details. "One must read it attentively," says Casgrain, "to form a just estimate of the undertaking and of the man, to be in a position to appreciate them, I mean, to treat them both with deserved contempt."

Morris begins his paper, continues Casgrain, with most minute topographical details. He describes each parish, each village, and even each small cluster of houses, which he enumerates one by one. He indicates the situation thereof, whether on the seashore, near the rivers or in the interior. He points out all the waterways and roads by which the Acadians could escape

and suggests how they could be intercepted. He omits neither one patrol to guard a land-route nor one cruiser to protect a sea-passage. In all this he exhibits a feline sagacity that forcibly reminds one of a cat watching a mouse. But the good judge really surpasses himself in the variety of snares and lies he invents to surprise and seize the poor Acadians. For instance, an effort must be made to spread among them beforehand a rumor that they are to be transported, not into exile into a foreign country, but to Canada. Once they come under this false impression they will be more willing to do as they are bid. If only they could be persuaded to give themselves up of their own accord! But that is hardly feasible. No doubt on Sundays, when they are together in church, they might be surrounded and arrested. What if they were surprised in their beds? But they are too numerous and too scattered for that. Finally, the judge lays his finger on the best method, the one which was adopted at last: send to Mines and elsewhere strong detachments of soldiers to make the people prisoners after they had come together for a public meeting.

For the better understanding of this document, I append a few extracts:

"The number of men necessary to remove the Acadians, and the places to post them will depend much on their behaviour, and it will much facilitate *their readiness to go*, if a persuasion could obtain among them *that they are to be removed to Canada*, could it be propagated by common report, for it is natural to think they will be unwilling to quit their possessions, and to offer themselves voluntarily *to be transported they know not whither*. I apprehend such a persuasion *would greatly facilitate the enterprise*. . . If they can possibly *be persuaded to surrender themselves voluntarily*, or if they can be apprehended *by any stratagem*. *The rest might*

submit willingly; but, if they prove obstinate, and take to the woods, and take up arms, it will require the whole force of the Colony to subdue them.

"If strong detachments were placed in the villages of Grand Pré, Piguit and Canard, at a certain day, they might be all summoned to attend, and then seize on all those that attend; or whether to invest their churches on a Sunday to be agreed on, and to seize on all present: or whether to invest their villages in the night, and seize them in bed; their living in such scattering situation will render this difficult; a number of whaleboats would be absolutely necessary if this were concluded on, to seize all those contiguous to the Basin, which would be best stationed at Grand Pré, as being near the centre of the settlements from whence they may be sent out.

"In short, it is difficult to conjecture how it may be accomplished, but the circumstances as they arise, will afford the best information of the most effectual methods of dealing with them. *Happy would it be, if they, in general, come in of their own accord!*

"Is it not possible to employ some person who can be confided in, and who has been among them, to sound their present disposition and intention, and from thence to take measures accordingly?"

What treachery! To what acts of base servility may not the desire of self-advancement impel a man, perhaps otherwise upright enough, who wants to please an odious despot! Morris's reward was a judgeship.

It is noteworthy that, among all Morris's infernal combinations, not the slightest allusion occurs to the unrestricted oath, about which so much fuss was to be made a few weeks later. Evidently, it was of little consequence whether the Acadians took this oath or not; they were in any case condemned to deportation. "*They are at all adventures to be rooted out;*" these are Morris's own words. Was I not right in saying that the oath was but the semblance of a motive, a sham to make the deportation plausible? The same may be said of all Lawrence's other shifts.

This is how Brown himself brands that hideous paper and its author :

"The subject was referred to Mr. Morris, as best acquainted with the country and the inhabitants. He wrote this report in consequence, little honorable to his heart, as it is replete with unjustifiable stratagems, cruel advice and barbarous counsel. . . . *I found this paper among the council fyles.* From it I corrected a less perfect copy *put into my hands by his son,* and from it got this transcript taken."

Morris's report bore this heading :

"Some reflections on the situation of the inhabitants, *commonly called Neutrals,* and some methods proposed to *prevent their escape out of the colony,* in case, upon being acquainted with the *design of removing them,* they should attempt to desert over to the French."

Whoever carefully reads this title will see that it implies that the project of deporting the Acadians was already formed when Morris received instructions to prepare his report. All he had to do was to furnish information as to the method of carrying out the project, and to prevent the Acadians from joining the French. Therefore, Lawrence was deceiving the Lords of Trade when he wrote to them that he had ordered Monckton to banish from the country the Beauséjour Acadians, since at that very moment he was doing his best to find some means of preventing their departure, so that he might have them in his power to scatter them at his own chosen time. Indeed Morris, in the following passage, distinctly hints that they are to be transported to English Colonies: "It will much facilitate their readiness to go if a persuasion could obtain among them that they are to be removed to Canada, for it is natural

to think they will be unwilling to offer themselves voluntarily to be transported they know not whither."

Morris felt pretty sure that, should the Acadians become persuaded of their future deportation to Canada, they would submit to their fate. I think he was right. But, once more, does not this prove that they were not and could never become rebels, except under extraordinary provocation from their rulers? For, we must bear in mind—and this is fresh evidence that Morris's report was prepared before the siege of Beauséjour—that the Acadians still had their arms, since, while enumerating his skilful combinations, Morris says: "but if they prove obstinate and *take up arms*, it will require the whole force of the colony to subdue them. This he certainly could not have said if their arms had already been taken from them.

The foregoing considerations demonstrate, I think, first, that this document was prior to the siege of Beauséjour, and to Lawrence's dealings with the delegates, and, secondly, that Lawrence had already decided upon the deportation. But by analogous reasoning we are led to place the date of Lawrence's decision still further back; we must go beyond the mere drawing up of the report to the time when Lawrence instructed Morris to prepare it. Now a document of this length and importance, comprising a multitude of minute details and a complete census of the population, is not the work of a day or a week either. Besides, the idea of giving such an order to Morris cannot have sprung all at once from Lawrence's head like a jack-in-a-box. It was and must have been there for a long time; he had slowly hatched it; he had himself matured the means of realizing it. By an indisputable chain of facts we come to the con-

clusion that, long before the siege of Beauséjour, Lawrence had resolved to cast away the Acadians on the shores of New England. We also come to this other parallel conclusion, that he seized the Acadians' arms for the double purpose of creating pretexts and of more securely executing his project; that he took offence at a respectful petition because it was his interest to appear hurt; that he forbade the delegates to consult their fellow-countrymen lest his proposal of an unrestricted oath might be accepted; that for the same reason he rejected their tardy consent to take this oath; that he imprisoned them because he wished the mass of the Acadians to believe that their delegates had peremptorily and constantly refused to comply with his behests, for he knew that the example of the delegates' acceptance would have great weight with the people; that, if he consulted Boscawen, "Heart of Oak," it was only because he had prepared and won him over to his views, and because he was most anxious to shield himself behind another's responsibility, for he knew full well that he could never obtain the consent of the Lords of Trade, and that, if he did not protect himself, he ran great risk of being blamed and disgraced; that his letter of June 28th to the Lords of Trade was a trick to mask his designs.

"I would fain believe," says Casgrain, "that the historians who have striven to justify the deportation had not in hand all the documents we possess to-day; but I must say that he whose narrative is the most famous had a complete copy of those documents before his eyes while he wrote."

Casgrain here alludes to Brown's MS. and to Parkman. In fact this writer could not but know all about

Brown. It would, indeed, be astonishing if he who devoted almost fifty years of his life to the history of this country, and who took the trouble to get sixty-two volumes of manuscripts copied from the Paris Archives, should have never heard of Brown's MS. deposited in the British Museum in 1852, and copied by the Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. a few years before Parkman's narrative on Acadian affairs. Besides, if need be, I can prove beyond question that Parkman had read this manuscript. And yet he has never quoted Brown's opinions nor the documents his MS. contains, nor so much as mentioned his name. Did he think that the views of Brown, a minister of the Gospel, a professor of a celebrated university, a citizen of Halifax, a contemporary of the actors and witnesses of the tragedy, passing judgment as between absent foreigners and fellow-countrymen with whom he was intimate and whose very reminiscences he was using, were not worth the views of Pichon the traitor and spy? At all events, the documents contained in Brown's MS. had a voice of their own; Parkman might quote them and name the author of the MS. without a blush, without being forced to conceal his identity as he felt he must do for Pichon.

Where had Brown found Morris' document? He tells us himself: in the Archives. Since that time it has, like so many other papers, disappeared therefrom. Many people were of course interested in suppressing such dangerous witnesses of villainy. The Historical Society of Halifax got a great part of Brown's MS. copied into its collections, but all the odious portion of Morris's report is cut away, the topographical descriptions alone being preserved. May we not be warranted in supposing that there was somebody at work who was interested

in shielding one of his ancestors from public contempt?

About the middle of July, as far as I can ascertain, the priests were arrested and *the Archives of the Acadians carried off*. The Halifax archives do not mention these important facts. By this time the reader must have ceased being surprised at these omissions. The Abbé Le Guerne, who spent many years on the Gulf coasts with the Acadians that had escaped the deportation, tells us that the arrest of the priests took place about the middle of July, and he names, among those who were thus carried off, the Abbés Daudin, Chauvreulx and Le Maire. These were the only priests then dwelling in the Peninsula with the exception of Desenclaves, who succeeded in escaping by taking to the woods. We find him afterwards at Cape Sable with the remnants of some families that had escaped the deportation. The series of Lawrence's persecutions would not have been complete without this carrying off of the priests. He knew that whatever touched the religious faith of the Acadians was for them a very sore point. Perhaps he had hoped thus to exasperate them and drive them into acts of resistance that would make a great show and emphasize his accusations. If so, he was doomed to disappointment. But what could have been Lawrence's motive in seizing the archives of the Acadians? Had he foreseen, so far ahead, the possibility of petitions to the King and denunciations of his conduct? This would have been a correct forecast, seeing that, two years later, the Acadians deported to Philadelphia, in a petition to the King, explain that it was impossible for them to prove their assertions because their archives had been carried off. And since

a detail apparently so insignificant did not escape the fertile and watchful mind of Lawrence, it is easy to understand why the archives are so incomplete, why he has so effectually blotted out all vestige of his crime, why we are confronted with a lost chapter.

In his letter of June 28th to the Lords of Trade, Lawrence had mentioned expulsion with regard only to the Acadian refugees at Beauséjour. It was not becoming that he should take action against those who had always remained in the Province, without giving the Lords of Trade a vague hint at least of his plans. His own interest with a view to meet the difficulty of justifying his conduct made this imperative. His fault would be deemed all the greater and his justification all the more difficult, the more completely he would be leaving the Lords of Trade in the dark as to his designs. There was no doubt a serious inconvenience, nay, a danger in giving them any inkling of his purpose: they might forbid him to carry it out; but, three months would have to elapse before an answer came back, and meanwhile the deportation would be an accomplished fact. He would not dare to disobey a positive prohibition; but he flattered himself he could make them accept an accomplished fact without grave disadvantage to himself. If, however, contrary to his expectation, the Lords of Trade took a threatening view of his conduct, he would intrench himself behind the approval of his Council and of Boscowen, he would plead necessity and urgency. Moreover, there was actual war between France and England; that war might become official at any moment, and it is always easier to fish in troubled waters. The engrossing cares of a military campaign, scattering attention over so many points at a time, would

not suffer that attention to rest on one special point, and that an isolated one, lost on a little-frequented shore, where the very bitterness of the struggle would make observers indulgent, and the din of battle would smother the cries of the victims. So long as the war lasted there could hardly be any question of making an investigation into his conduct. Men "don't swap horses when they're crossing a stream." The war bid fair to be long and lively, and afterwards . . . well, afterwards, all would be forgotten or confused. If final victory crowned the efforts of England, all would be buried under the trophies of triumph. Lawrence was playing high; he knew it, but he also knew that circumstances were in his favor. Does not fortune favor the bold? *Audaces fortuna juvat.*

No; there was no reason to stay his hand. He had better let the Lords of Trade know a part of his plan. This he did on the 18th of July.

After having stated that the Acadians had never yet taken an "unqualified" oath, he informs their Lordships that he took advantage of their coming before the Council with an extremely insolent petition, to propose to them the oath; which they obstinately refused.

"The next morning they appeared and refused to take the oath without the old reserve of not being obliged to bear arms, upon which, they were acquainted that, as they refused to become English subjects, we could no longer look upon them in that light, that *we should send them to France* by the first opportunity, and, *till then*, were ordered to be kept prisoners. Your Lordships will see our proceedings in this case, *as soon as it is possible to prepare the minutes of the Council.*"

Not a word does this letter contain about the subject-matter of this supposedly impudent letter, not a word

about the seizure of arms, about the confiscation of the boats, about the order to give up all fire-arms and the immediate delivery thereof, about the arrest of the priests and the carrying off of the Acadian archives, not a word on points the knowledge of which was so very important to enable the Lords of Trade to understand the state of affairs.

Once more his object is manifest; he wants to conceal his actions and intentions. His whole behavior has the same general trend; we have here not merely one isolated fact, lost amid others of a different nature, or unconnected with the tenor of his conduct, but an uninterrupted series of connected facts which could have only one objective point. Nor can it be alleged that these omissions were immaterial; on the contrary, they were a flagrant violation of duty: for he was evidently bound to acquaint the Lords of Trade with all these grave events and to enter the record of them in the Archives.

Lawrence knew very well that, unless he could cite clear cases of rebellion, it would be difficult, not to say impossible, to convince the Lords of Trade that the Acadians were to be feared. The Home authorities had the experience of forty-five years to go by; they knew, from Mascarene's letters, that, in exceptionally painful circumstances, they had never once resorted to arms; they knew that it had not been otherwise under Cornwallis and Hopson. Often, it is true, complaints had been made of their lack of sentimental attachment to England, of their partiality for the French, of their stubbornness about the oath; but this was all. The Lords of Trade were anxious to keep them in the country; they were known to be peaceable, moral and hard-

working. What, then, would the Lords of Trade have thought of Lawrence's plans, even as toned down in their presentment, if he had informed them that he had tricked the Acadians out of part of their arms and that they had delivered up the remainder as well as their boats on a simple order to that effect ; that he had imprisoned their priests and carried off their archives ; that, despite this cruel treatment, he could not reproach them with a single act of rebellion or resistance ; that the only complaint he could make referred to a Petition which he called insolent, but which he neither reproduced nor explained, taking good care not to mention the second petition in which they developed and justified the good intentions of the former ? Doubtless the Lords of Trade would have replied in some such strain as this : By your insulting and arbitrary measures you have exposed the province to an insurrection ; you have sown discontent and distrust among a people which we were trying to assimilate or at least to attach to our interests. You have ruined or at least jeopardized a policy which we have long been following with great care. And, since they have undergone your humiliations and your cruelty without breaking the peace, without violating their oath of fidelity, can you not see how excellent are their dispositions ? Finally, since they have neither boats in which to escape nor arms for attack or defence ; since the majority of their brethren who dwell with the French refused to take up arms ; since those who did were forced to it under pain of death ; since the French have been repulsed and driven from their posts all along the coast ; since it is henceforth impossible for the Acadians to have any intercourse with the French, what in the world have you to fear ?

Another ruse of Lawrence's was his assertion, in this letter to the Lords of Trade, that he had declared to the Acadian delegates that "he should send them to France," whereas we have seen how, long before, he had made up his mind to deport, not merely the few delegates he had imprisoned, but the entire population, not to Canada nor to France, but to places he must carefully keep them ignorant of. Even with respect to the imprisoned delegates he treacherously veiled his purpose in vague terms as if his decision as to them might be reversed: "They have since desired to be admitted to take the oath, but have not been admitted, *nor will any answer be given them until we see how the rest of the inhabitants are disposed.*"

A little further on, however, at the close of his letter, as if he thought better of it and as if he had a far-off vision of the disgrace he might incur should he not shield himself more carefully against the imputation of purposely disguising his projects, he adds: "I am determined to bring the inhabitants to a compliance *or rid the province of such perfidious subjects.*"

During the ensuing week, on July 25th, a hundred new delegates from all parts of the Province met at Halifax in compliance with Lawrence's orders. Were they to have the same fate as the fifteen delegates he had put in prison and still held in St. George's Island? They could hardly doubt it, since they came with a final answer that they would not take the oath he required. There was self-denial, if not heroism, in accepting a mandate that exposed them to rot in prison; but they did not flinch; some one must voice the will of the people, and so they braved the anger and vengeance of the tyrant. But why so many delegates when

twenty-four was the usual number? What need was there of a hundred men merely to carry an answer? We shall see later on. This was another of Lawrence's clever machinations, and one that shows how artfully he had planned, far in advance, all the details of his crime, and how far he carried his inhumanity.

The reply of the inhabitants of Annapolis reads as follows :—

“ Having received Your Excellency's orders, dated July 12th, 1755, we assembled on Sunday the 18th (July) in order to read them to all the inhabitants, wishing always to observe a faithful obedience.

“ We have *unanimously* consented to deliver up our fire-arms to M. Handfield, our very worthy commandant, although we have never had any desire to make use of them against His Majesty's Government. We have therefore nothing to reproach ourselves, either on that subject, or on the subject of the fidelity we owe to His Majesty's Government. For, sir, we can assure Your Excellency, that several of us have risked our lives to give information to the Government concerning the enemy; and have also, when necessary, laboured with all our heart, on the repairs of Fort Annapolis, and other work considered necessary by the Government, and are ready to continue with the same fidelity. We have also selected thirty men to proceed to Halifax, whom we shall recommend to do or say nothing contrary to His Majesty's Council; but we shall charge them strictly to contract no new oath. We are resolved to adhere to that to which we have been faithful, as far as circumstances required it; for the enemies of His Majesty have urged us to take up arms against the Government but we have taken care not to do so.

“ Signed by two hundred and seven of the said inhabitants.”

“ They were told that they must now resolve either to take the oath or *quit their lands*. Upon which they said they were determined, one and all, rather to quit their lands than to take any other oath than what they had done before. They were given till next day at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to reconsider the matter.”

The delegates of Grand Pré, Piguit, Rivière aux

Canards, being brought before the Governor, present their reply:—

“ The inhabitants of our Districts having been informed by M. Murray, etc., etc. We take the liberty of representing, that, after having taken the oath of fidelity to His Majesty, with all the circumstances and reservations granted to us in the name of the King, by His Excellency Governor Philipps, which allegiance we have observed as far as possible, enjoying peaceably our rights according to the terms of our oath in all its tenor and reserve ; and always having relied on our oath of fidelity, we are resolved with one consent and voice, to take no other oath. We have taken the oath of fidelity in good faith, We are very well pleased and satisfied. We hope, sir, that you will have the kindness to listen to our just reasons ; and, in consequence, we all, with a unanimous voice, beg His Honor to set at liberty our people who have been detained at Halifax for some time [the previous delegates], not even knowing their situation, which appears to us deplorable. We have full confidence, sir, that you will have the goodness to grant us the favor which we have the honor most humbly to beg. Charity for our detained inhabitants, and their innocence, oblige us to beg Your Excellency to be touched by their miseries, and to restore to them their liberty with all possible submission and the most profound respect.

“ Signed by two hundred and three.”

“ The Deputies were then called in and peremptorily refused the oath.

“ Those of Annapolis also appeared and refused the oath.

“ Whereupon, they were all ordered into confinement.

“ As it *had been before determined* to send all the Acadians out of the Province *if they refused to take the oath*, nothing now remained to be considered but what measures should be taken to send them away, and *where* they should be sent to.

“ After mature consideration, it was unanimously agreed, *to prevent as much as possible their attempting to return and molest the settlers that may be set down on their lands*, it would be most proper to send them *to be distributed amongst the several colonies on the Continent*, and that a sufficient number of vessels should be hired *with all possible expedition* for that purpose.”

Under any circumstances these petitions may be

deemed excessively deferential, but particularly so in the present case when causes of discontent were so grave and so numerous. There is in all these petitions a ring of sincerity which, for the unprejudiced reader, is far more convincing than the vague and really childish accusations of Lawrence. No; these good people who so unanimously obeyed all the iniquitous commands Lawrence chose to lay upon them could not be dangerous either with or without arms. Those who would gainsay this give the lie to all historical reasoning in the search after truth; and, since Lawrence made the remaining in the country depend upon the taking of the oath, the few writers who approve the deportation, the "rari nantes," have but one resource left, they must base their defence of that act on the simple refusal to take the oath. But those who, like myself, are convinced that the Acadians afforded no reasonable excuse for their deportation, and that their refusal to take the oath could not have been Lawrence's real motive, will be forced to admit that he had his own interest in view, to attain which he did all he could to prevent the taking of the oath. Knowing that kindness would win the Acadians, he treated them harshly. We cannot fix the date of the arrest of the priests; l'Abbé Le Guerne places it in the middle of July (à la mi-juillet), and this meeting of the delegates was on the 25th of that month. If the priests had already been arrested, this was quite enough to prevent the taking of the oath, as it clearly meant that the exercise of their religion was at an end. However this may be, there are enough other facts of a grave character to warrant the inference that Lawrence would not have the oath, that he behaved so as not to get it, and that, if it had been taken, the

deportation would have been accomplished all the same under other pretexts.

Parkman, with the candor that distinguishes him, tells us that the Acadians refused the oath "in full view of the consequences." But, have we not just seen that Lawrence declared to them, "You must now resolve to take the oath or quit your lands?" Was this the same as the deportation which he had decided on, and which was actually soon to be a matter of fact? As well might we say that the moon was like green cheese. From this declaration of Lawrence's the Acadians could draw but one conclusion: namely, that, in case they refused, they would have to give up their lands and go wherever they pleased. In this case history would have been silent as to their fate. There would have been cruelty, injustice, bad faith, violation of a treaty and of solemn engagements; but this fact would have been like some others that stain the pages of history and are forgotten by reason of the time in which they occurred or of the frequency of their occurrence. Cruel as the order to give up property and fatherland would have been, they would have obeyed and accepted the alternative. There can be no doubt of this, neither did Morris doubt it, since he thought they would be resigned to their fate even if they were to be deported, provided they were led to believe that they would be transported all together to Canada. At the very moment when Lawrence was hypocritically declaring that they would have to quit their lands, his resolution was thus expressed: "As it has been before determined to send all the Acadians out of the Province." And, at the same sitting of the council, it was decided that they should be scattered up and down

the British colonies; in other words, this Resolution was but the fulfilment of formalities connected with a decision long since arrived at.

By way of relieving the dry monotony of official documents, always drawn up with a keen eye to self-defence, I will insert here the recital of these last events by Abbé Daudin, who must then have been a prisoner at Halifax.

"For a long time," says he, "the English never spoke to the Acadians except to announce their ruin in the near future. They were told that they would be made slaves, that they would be dispersed like the Irish; in short, everything foreboded the destruction of their nation; there was talk of nothing else than burning the houses and laying waste the fields. However, the inhabitants were not discouraged, as is proved by the most abundant harvest that was ever seen in the country. Prayer is the only weapon they used against the English."

"After the taking of Beauséjour they made a show of commanding the inhabitants on holidays to go to the Fort and sharpen all their instruments of war, telling them these weapons were to destroy them, after they had cut up into pieces their brethren who were refugees with the French."

"When the Grand Pré delegates had started for Halifax, there came to Annapolis an order promulgated at the church door on Sunday, July 6th, which order enjoined on all the inhabitants to carry their arms to the Fort, and to meet for the nomination of thirty delegates who should immediately go to join at Halifax those of the other parishes. The very next day the arms were brought in and the delegates left the following Wednesday. After their departure, the canoes were demanded and burned."

"When the delegates from all parts had arrived to the number of about one hundred, they were called before the Council, where they were immediately told that no propositions nor explanations would be received from them. Those from Annapolis wished to show their privileges granted by Queen Anne, since acknowledged and ratified by the reigning King; but in vain. The Governor replied to them that he wanted no answer but *yes* or *no*. He put the following very plain question to them: 'Will you or will

you not swear to the King of Great Britain *that you will take up arms against the King of France, his enemy?*' The answer was not less laconic than the question. '*Since,*' said they, '*we are asked only for a yes or a no, we will all answer unanimously, No ;*' adding, however, that what was required of them tended to despoil them of their religion and everything else."

"Immediately the Governor gave orders to transport them on a small island, distant as far as a cannon-ball would carry from Halifax, whither they were conducted like criminals, and where they remained *until the end of October,** fed on a little bad bread, deprived of the liberty of receiving any assistance as well as of speaking to any one."

"The Governor imagined that this harshness would soften their courage ; he found them as firm as ever. He took the resolution of betaking himself to the aforesaid island with a numerous retinue, accompanied by all the instruments of torture, in order to try to soften their courage at the sight of this spectacle. In the midst of this display befitting a tyrant he asked them if they persisted in their answers. One of them replied, 'Yes, and more than ever ; we have God for us and that is enough.' The Governor drew his sword and said : '*Insolent fellow, you deserve that I should run my sword through your body.*' The peasant presented his breast to him, and, drawing nearer, said : '*Strike, Sir, if you dare ; I shall be the first martyr of the band ; you can kill my body, but you shall not kill my soul.*' The Governor in a sort of frenzy, asked the others if they shared the feelings of that insolent fellow who had just spoken ; all with one voice exclaimed : '*Yes, Sir ! Yes, Sir !*'"

"After the carrying off of the priests, the English raised their flag above the churches and made the latter into barracks when their troops passed there. . . . The missionaries reached Halifax with this fine accompaniment, drums beating. They were led out on the parade, where they were exposed during three quarters of an hour to mockery, contempt and insults."

The official documents, mutilated as they are, let us catch but a faint glimpse of Lawrence's oppression. It could hardly be otherwise even if they were com-

* The deportation was then pretty well completed, and these prisoners were deported together, apart from their families, and to other places.

plete: a despot does not register his misdeeds, especially when he is responsible to a higher authority and when he is playing a dangerous game without the knowledge of that authority. Lawrence seems to have taken especial delight in figuring as a tyrant, in making poor wretches who could only hold their tongues quail and quake before his eye. None but an upstart could carry to such lengths the abuse of his power merely because the Acadians refused to lend themselves to an act against nature; and, if we give credit to Daudin, he was careful to render this oath more terrible by intimating that they would have to fight the French. Evidently, he was anxious to fail.

This letter of Daudin's confirms the intrinsic evidence of Morris's report as to Lawrence's intentions having been formed long ago. Long before the taking of Beauséjour, whether he avowed his purpose or merely let it be guessed by the people about him, the English officials used to say to the Acadians that they would be dispersed, that their houses would be burned.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

July 31st—Lawrence's instructions to Monckton, Winslow, Murray and Handfield about the deportation—Proofs of his cruelty.

AT length the deportation was now officially decided, even as to the manner in which it was accomplished. One would think that Lawrence forthwith wrote to the Lords of Trade. This time at least the duty was pressing, imperative. Quite true; yet he did no such thing. In his letter of July 18th, given above, he had gone as far as he deemed prudent. The main point now was to gain time. If the deportation were accomplished easily, without grave disturbance, the bold game he was playing would probably be won. The Home Government would shut their eyes to an accomplished fact, though they could not do so to a mere project. Lawrence did not write to the Lords of Trade till *three months later*, when the deportation, though almost completed, was as yet unknown to them, and when he was urged by them to write and explain the obscure hints of his letter of June 28th. Is this not a new proof that he was trying to deceive them, that he was fencing with them, that his letters of August 1st, 1754, June 28th and July 18th, 1755, were so many steps in a clever scheme of duplicity organized and matured long ago?

He must make haste; he had not a moment to lose. The deportation must be done and over before the middle of October, before he could receive an answer from

the Lords of Trade to his letter of June 28th. These latter, if they were quick about it, could let him have an answer about the beginning of October; and if at that date the deportation was not being executed, if this answer blamed him and ordered him to desist from his projects concerning the Acadians of Beauséjour, his position would become extremely embarrassing. How could he proceed with the deportation of all the Acadians of the province, if he were blamed for the mere intention to banish those who had less claims on the indulgence of the Government? Lawrence fully realized the enormous distinction the latter would draw between those who dwelt in the province and the refugees of Beauséjour, and the still greater distinction between deportation as he was going to carry it out and a banishment that would have left each of the banished free to go where he pleased. The latter might be dangerous, though in some respects excusable; the former was an unprecedented crime which left an indelible stain on the national flag.

Nor were Lawrence's fears of a disagreeable and early reply unfounded. About this time, the Secretary of State, frightened at the disguised projects of Lawrence, as expressed in his letter of June 28th, was dictating a reply full of alarm, which arrived too late to save a whole people from the hateful plot a monster had hatched against their corporate existence. But, before considering this important letter, which reflects so much credit on its author and is so consoling for the sons of the victims and for all mankind, let us follow Lawrence in his preparations and in the consummation of his undertaking.

Two days only after the official decision that the

Acadians be deported, on July 31st, Lawrence addressed the following letter to Colonel Monckton, Commandant at Beauséjour. I give it in full despite its length: for it helps greatly to an understanding of the events that ensued and of Lawrence's sentiments.

"The Deputies of the Acadians of the Districts of Annapolis, Mines and Piguit, have been called before the Council and have refused to take the oath of allegiance, whereupon, the council advised and it is accordingly determined that they shall be removed out of the Country, as soon as possible, and, as to those about Beauséjour, who were in arms and therefore entitled to no favor, it is determined to begin with them first; and, for this purpose, *orders are given for a sufficient number of transports to be sent up the Bay with all possible dispatch for taking them on board, by whom you will receive particular instructions as to the manner of their being disposed of, the places of their destination, and every other thing necessary for that purpose.*

"In the meantime, it will be necessary to keep this measure as secret as possible, as well to prevent their attempting to escape, *as to carry off their cattle etc., etc.,* and, the better to effect this, you will endeavour to fall upon some stratagem *to get the men, both young and old—specially the heads of families—into your power, and detain them till the transports shall arrive, so as they may be ready to be shipped off; for, WHEN THIS IS DONE,* it is not much to be feared that the women and children will attempt to go away and *carry off the cattle.* But, lest they should, it will not only be very proper to secure all their shallops, boats, canoes, and every other vessel you can lay your hands upon; but also to send out parties to all suspected roads and places from time to time, that they may be thereby intercepted. *As their whole stock of cattle and corn is forfeited to the Crown by their rebellion, and must be secured and applied towards a reimbursement of the expense the Government will be at, in transporting them out of the country, care must be had that nobody make any bargain for purchasing them under any colour or pretence whatever; if they do the sale will be void, for the inhabitants have now no property in them, nor will they be allowed to carry away the least thing but their ready money and household furniture.*

"The officers commanding the Fort at Piguit and the garrison of Annapolis have nearly the same orders in relation to the inhabitants of the Peninsula. But I am informed those will fall upon ways and

means, in spite of all our vigilance *to send off their cattle* to the island of St. Johns (Prince Edward Island) and Louisburg (which is now in a starving condition) by the way of Tatmagouche. I would, therefore, have you, without loss of time, send thither a pretty strong detachment to beat up that quarter and to prevent them. You cannot want a guide for conducting the party, as there is not an Acadian at Beausejour but must perfectly know the road.

"When Beausoleil's son arrives, if he brings you no intelligence which you can trust to, of what the French design to do or are doing upon the St. John river, I would have you fall upon some method of procuring the best intelligence by means of some Acadian you dare venture to put confidence in, whom you may send thither for that purpose.

"As to the provisions that were found in the stores at Beausejour, the 832 barrels of flour must be applied to victual the whole of the Acadians on their passage to their place of destination, and, if any remain, after a proper proportion is put on board each Transport, it will be sent to Lunenburg for the settlers there.

"It is agreed that the Acadians shall have put on board with them one pound of flour and half a pound of bread per day for each person, and a pound of beef per week to each, the bread and beef will be sent to you by the Transports from Halifax; the flour you have already in store.

"I would have you give orders to the Detachment you send to Tatmagouche, to demolish all the houses, etc., etc., they find there, together with all the shallops, boats, canoes or vessels of any kind which may be lying ready for carrying off the inhabitants *and their cattle*, and by these means the pernicious intercourse between St. John's island and Louisburg and the inhabitants of the interior part of the country, will in a great measure be prevented."

On the 8th of August he wrote him again :

"The Transports for taking off the Acadians will be with you soon, as they are almost ready to sail from hence, and by them you shall hear further, and have particular instructions as to the manner of shipping them, and the places of their destination.

"I am hopeful that you will, in the meantime, have accomplished the directions you had in my last with regard to the Acadians. As there may be a deal of difficulty in securing them, you will, to prevent this as much as possible, destroy all the villages on the north and northwest side of the Isthmus that lay any distance from Fort

Beausejour, and use every other method to distress as much as can be, those who may attempt to conceal themselves in the woods. But, I would have all care taken to *save the cattle*, and prevent as much as possible the Acadians *from carrying off or destroying the cattle.*"

These letters are a revelation of Lawrence's character; his soul leers through them in all its naked hideousness. Did he reflect for an instant on the sufferings he was about to inflict? Was there a struggle in his mind, were it only for a moment? Not a trace of it appears. Does the wolf that tears and rends the lamb think of the pain he is making his prey endure? Does the cat, while prolonging the mouse's life for the instruction of its offspring in the predatory art, or simply for the wanton exercise of its own agility, reflect on the tortures of its quarry? Like the wolf, like the cat, Lawrence was glutting his hunger, or rather slaking his thirst for wealth, and like them he was deaf to the agonizing cries that would assail him.

Two days only had elapsed since the resolution of the council had officially decided on the deportation, and Lawrence had already ordered from Boston and other places the transports he needed; he had already written to the commanding officers at Annapolis and Pigiguit, giving each of them minutely detailed instructions, in which all contingencies were provided for with satanic skill. Once more it is evident that everything had been pre-arranged long ago, and that Lawrence was making haste to forestall the answer of the Lords of Trade.

The reader must have noticed in the foregoing letters how solicitous Lawrence is about the cattle. In the first his instructions recur to them six times, and twice in

the second. This is really remarkable ; this insistence gives rise to suspicions. The thing might pass unobserved, if it were an isolated fact, but it is quite otherwise. It is linked with other facts of the same kind and much graver, and thus acquires considerable importance. Loose links are useless ; rivet them together and they may form a strong chain, hard to break. With such a chain is Lawrence bound to the pillory of history whence he can never escape.

Human nature is a very complex thing. Both good and bad instincts are found commingled in varying degrees of intensity in one and the same person, making him the battle-field of long, violent, and sometimes perpetual conflict, the issue of which is very various. His efforts under the influence of religion and education develop the good and stifle the evil that is in him. No one can entirely escape the action of the environment in which he lives and in which his character has been formed. Good instincts will spring up in his soul, as it were, in spite of him, if they have been stimulated by example. The cruellest, the vilest of men, though he may never rise to heroism, will occasionally be swayed by some noble feeling—even if it only flash across his brain—which lifts him for the nonce above the brute. This is the rule ; Lawrence is the exception. You may search in vain, throughout his entire career, for one single act, one single phrase, one single word that might lead you to suppose he was amenable to pity. Was he, then, a being inferior to the order of outlaws and assassins ? I know not ; but this much is certain : he was mastered by a passion that had stifled whatever good instincts he may once have had. Of a most humble origin he had reached, while still young, a high po-

sition; he wanted to rise higher still; he wanted a high social standing and, for this, wealth was needed. The cattle of the Acadians was, as I will shortly demonstrate, the means he had long since fixed upon and was now pursuing unblushingly, but still with consummate prudence and craft. The baneful influence of his vile project had stamped out every vestige of good feeling, if indeed he ever had any. Else, how could he have given Monckton that infamous order about separating the women and children from their husbands and fathers? I would fain be mistaken in my reading of this passage; but, surely, it can mean only that the men, young and old, were to be arrested and detained until the arrival of the transports, on which they were to be then embarked and sent off first of all; "so that they may be ready to be shipped off; for, *when this is done*, it is not much to be feared that the women and children *will attempt to go away* and carry off the cattle."

Any doubt that may still remain as to the meaning I attribute to this passage of Monckton's instructions, seems to be completely dispelled by the instructions sent to Handfield: "*Upon the arrival of the Transports, as many of the inhabitants as can be collected, particularly the heads of families and young men are to be shipped* on board of them at the rate of two to a ton." Besides, this tallies exactly with the general advice (see above, page 60): "*to use every other method to distress them as much as can be.*" The coarsest cattle-raiser and the ignorant Indian drover of the South America Pampas are kinder to their herds than was Lawrence to the Acadians. This is the man Parkman would force us to admire; and, the better to succeed in this achievement, he has omitted everything that might discredit

him and set him in his true light. He carefully avoids producing this letter or any of its essential parts. He sums it up in four lines, cutting in two, by a process that is familiar to him, the sentence I have just analyzed. Thus he takes all the sting out of it. Let the reader judge; this is Parkman's mutilated summary: "Lawrence acquainted Monckton with the result and ordered him to seize all the adult males in the neighborhood; and this, as we have seen, he promptly did."

What motive could Lawrence have had for so barbarous an order? Was he afraid that the confusion consequent upon the gathering together of many families might permit some of them to escape with the cattle? This is the only explanation I can offer, and besides he himself has set at rest all doubt on this point. Prince Edward Island was only a short distance from Beauséjour; he thought it would be possible for the Acadians to transfer thither such cattle as they might manage to save; and he would not run any risk with regard to the cattle, were it even necessary, in order to secure them, to separate for life wives from their husbands, children from their parents. As he willed the end, wealth, he also willed the means: he must have every head of cattle. But if pity found no place in Lawrence's own heart, he could gauge pretty correctly the feelings of others. He knew that, after the departure of their husbands, fathers and brothers, those wives and children in tears, plunged in despair and in mortal anguish, could never have the presence of mind or the will to run away with the cattle.

Winslow at Grand Pré, Murray at Piguit, Handfield at Annapolis, received the same orders as Monckton at Beauséjour. Lawrence had begun with these last,

because, said he, *these deserved no favor*. Pretty favor indeed, to be whelmed in the same disaster eight days later! One is forcibly reminded of the angler's considerateness in kind old Lafontaine's fable: "With what sauce would you like to be eaten? said he to his captive fishes." If in this Lawrence was humane, I hasten to give him credit for it, as it is the only case where he betrays a semblance of commiseration. The fact of the matter is this: he knew that his transports would not all arrive at the same time, and that, owing to the distance, he could operate at Beauséjour a week or a fortnight earlier before its being known in the settlements of the Peninsula.

In his instructions to Murray, Winslow and Handfield, he enters into fuller details:

"You will," says he to Winslow, "allow five pounds of flour and one pound of pork for seven days to each person. You will have from Boston vessels to transport one thousand persons, reckoning two persons to a ton.

"Destination of the vessels appointed to rendezvous in the Basin of Mines:

"To be sent to North Carolina, such a number as will transport five hundred persons or thereabout.

"To be sent to Virginia, such a number as will transport one thousand persons.

"To Maryland, such a number as will transport five hundred persons, or in proportion, if the number should exceed two thousand persons."

We have not, in the instructions to Murray and Monckton, the destination of the Pigiguit and Beauséjour Acadians. The instructions to Handfield, Commandant at Annapolis, are the following:

"To be sent to Philadelphia, such a number of vessels as will transport three hundred persons.

"To be sent to New York, such a number of vessels as will transport two hundred persons.

"To be sent to Boston, such a number of vessels as will transport two hundred persons, or rather more in proportion to the Province of Connecticut, should the number to be shipped off exceed one thousand persons."

Lawrence's calculation fell far short of the reality. The total number of persons deported by Winslow at Grand Pré, exceeded three thousand ; at Annapolis, it reached sixteen hundred and fifty.

"You must proceed," he continues, "*by the most rigorous measures possible*, not only in compelling them to embark, but in depriving those who shall escape of all means of shelter or support by burning their houses and destroying everything that may afford them the means of subsistence in the country."

And to Murray he writes : "If these people behave amiss, they should be punished *at your discretion* ; and if any attempt to molest the troops, you should take an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth ; and, in short, life for life, *from the nearest neighbor* where the mischief should be performed."

One can hardly refrain from concluding that Lawrence fairly revelled in cruelty. Everything seems to have been calculated to make the lot of his victims as wretched as possible. All those commandants had full scope. With Murray, this was no light matter. But Lawrence did not stop there. The better to emphasize what he meant, he supplemented this freedom of action by instructions inviting them to unutterably barbarous deeds : "life for life, *from the nearest neighbor*." At Beauséjour, the order was clear, to seize the men and ship them off first, the women and children afterwards,

to different destinations far distant from each other. In the other settlements the order is not so clear. The instructions do not state that the men must be shipped separately, they merely say that as many persons as possible must be arrested, *especially the heads of families and the young men*, to be shipped off on the arrival of the first transports. There is here no doubt a slight difference in the wording; but it is very far from an indication that members of one family should be put on board the same ship. Elsewhere than at Beauséjour it was practically impossible for the women and children to run away with the cattle; hence there was less object in insisting on separation between men and women. When Lawrence did insist on that separation he can have had, it seems, no other motive than cruelty: for it was his interest to favor the reunion of families in order to allay discontent, agitation and murmurings, to prevent desperate resistance and to facilitate for his victims the acceptance of so cruel a lot.

Again, was it in order to make their condition more pitiable that he destined the inhabitants of one locality to different ports, far distant from each other? Besides the father, mother and children, the immediate family dwelling under the same roof, there were the married brothers and sisters and their children, the uncles, nephews and cousins, all bound by ties of kindred which the separation was to sever; there were the neighbors and friends living in the same district, whose acquaintance or intimacy, especially in an agricultural country like Acadia and among a sociable, genial peasantry like theirs, was the chief charm of life and often an indispensable help in the bearing of life's burden. Apart from humanitarian motives—since Lawrence

was inaccessible to these—was it not his interest to unite the families of one locality, so that they might cling together and thus obviate those continual journeys from place to place in search of a father, mother, brother or sister, journeys which did not cease till thirty-two years after this fatal year? Could he hope that families mourning an absent father or son could be kept in the land of their exile, or take any interest in life, or become useful subjects? What was to be hoped for from dismembered families, suffering from the direst want, sighing over the not less cruel lot of relatives rudely snatched from their hearths and transported they knew not whither? Not daring to exterminate them by the sword, did Lawrence intend to kill them by grief? Such cruelty outstrips all flights of fancy, and the memory of these woes, which no one can fully realize unless he has been forced thereto by the oft-told fireside recital, still brings to my eyes, after more than a century, tears which I cannot restrain.

Does not this total absence of kindly feelings, or rather this premeditated cruelty, afford, of itself, overwhelming presumptive evidence that his grievances were fabricated with a view to some project of enrichment? Nothing could stop so ferocious a man. All suppositions shameful to his memory he has made possible; and, as his interest could lie in one direction only, there it is that we must seek it, and there it is that I have found it.

It would be a mistake to suppose that Parkman reproduces those iniquitous instructions I have quoted of Lawrence to Murray. It would also be a mistake to believe that his work contains a single reference to the destination of the transports. On the contrary he has

omitted all such references and has done his best to let his readers infer that the deportation was accomplished humanely. By his constantly recurring efforts to falsify history he has, so to speak, become an accomplice after the fact, and in this capacity he will affix to his name a part of the scorn with which the authors of this crime are visited.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Winslow goes from Beauséjour to Grand Pré to execute Lawrence's orders—Proclamation—His Journal—Winslow's state of mind—Murray—Prebble.

WE are at last on the eve of witnessing the fulfilment of Lawrence's doubly criminal project, the deportation of an entire people, violently snatched from their homes, from that smiling and fertile land which their fathers had discovered and colonized over a century before.

In a burst of colonizing zeal France had left upon these shores some dozens of families, whom she afterwards, with guilty carelessness, forgot. At the period we have now reached the memory of the French fatherland had long become faint and indistinct. Tradition alone could recall both France and the history of those who were the pioneers of the country. Those original families had increased and multiplied; the two hundred who founded the colony had grown to seventeen thousand souls, a small nation, with habits, tastes and traditions of its own. They were all members of one large family, bound together by ties of blood or by common memories. Their home was no longer France; it was there, all in all before their eyes, in the country that stretched as far as they could see, in silent nature or in the works which they or their fathers had laboriously accomplished. By little and little, the accumulated

labor of several generations had pushed back and limited the sea, had encroached on the forest; the wilderness blossomed as the rose, the tiers of rising upland smiled with the golden grain. Here and there, on those gentle slopes that lead to the Basin of Mines, were ranged in line as far as the eye could reach their simple rustic dwellings. Each house had an orchard at its back and was shaded by willows, thus forming a nest of greenery where everything spoke of ease, quiet and the happiness of rural life. Below lay the singularly fertile meadows protected by their dikes, where vast herds were grazing. Then there was the Basin itself, always heaving, with its vast dazzling sheet of reflected light; now folded back and narrowing into littleness and retirement, now proud and mighty pushing its waters far inland, caressing with its waves the graceful outlines of the dells. In the middle distance, hills rising one above the other, and silent forests framed this charming scene; on either hand Cape Blomedon and Cape Fendu stood out boldly as sentinels to mark the entrance to this asylum of peace and happiness, and, as it were, to bar the way to all human passions. In the far distance the Cobequid Mountains blended with the purple lines of the horizon. Haliburton says it would be difficult to find elsewhere a landscape that could equal in rural beauty that which meets the eye from the hills that look down upon the ancient site of Grand Pré village. This was home and country to the Acadians. A few days more and the cupidity of a tyrant would make it the most desolate spot on the face of the earth. A whole people was to be heaped pell-mell in ships and scattered on a dozen coasts like leaves whirled away by the winds of autumn.

In the Mines district the task of breaking upon this idyllic peace and contentment was confided to Winslow and Murray, the former having to operate at Grand Pré, which contained the parishes of St. Charles and St. Joseph (Rivière aux Canards), and the latter at Pigiguit, where were two other parishes, Ste. Famille and L'Assomption.

Winslow was at Beauséjour when he received the order to proceed to Grand Pré. Having embarked on August 14th at Fort Lawrence with three hundred militia-men of his regiment, he cast anchor the following day before Grand Pré. Thence, without stopping, he went to Pigiguit where Murray was impatiently awaiting him. Both of them had the same instructions. They were, moreover, to consult together as to the most effective means of fulfilling their task. After they had done so, Winslow returned to Grand Pré. "I am pleased," he wrote to Lawrence, "with the place proposed by Your Excellency—the village church—for our reception. I have sent for the elders to remove all sacred things, to prevent their being defiled by heretics."

The church was occupied as an arsenal, the soldiers pitched their tents around the churchyard and the church, and Winslow made the presbytery his headquarters. At the same time he informed Lawrence that he intended forthwith to surround his camp with a palisade, so as to guard against a surprise. Thereupon Lawrence took alarm and sent word to him, through Murray, that it was better to avoid whatever might excite wonder and mistrust. Winslow answered as follows:—

"GRAND PRÉ, August 30th, 1755.

"I am favored with Your Excellency's letters, which Captain

Murray was so good as to be the bearer of, and with whom I have consulted as to the duty proposed ; and, as the corn is not all down, the weather being such, has prevented the inhabitants from housing it. It is his opinion and mine, that Your Excellency's orders should not be made public until friday ; on which day we propose to put them in execution. We have picquetted in the camp before the receipt of Your Excellency's letter, and I imagine it is *so far from giving surprise to the inhabitants* as to their being detained, that they look upon it as a settled point that we are to remain with them all winter. . . . Although it is a *disagreeable part of the duty we are put upon*, I am sensible it is a necessary one, and I shall endeavour strictly to obey Your Excellency's orders, to do anything in me *to remove the neighbours to a better Country.*"

When Murray brought to Winslow Lawrence's letter, the two came to the conclusion that the surest way to get the inhabitants together would be to issue a proclamation requiring that all the men and all the children above ten years of age should meet in the church to receive His Majesty's instructions with regard to them ; and that this proclamation should be so ambiguously worded as not to reveal its object, and yet so peremptory that it would not be disobeyed.

The day after his return to Pigiguit, Murray wrote to Winslow : "I think the sooner we strike the stroke the better, therefore, I will be glad to see you here as soon as conveniently you can. I shall have the orders for assembling ready written for your approbation, only the day blank, and am hopeful will succeed according to our wishes."

Before meeting Murray again, Winslow wished to see for himself how far advanced was the harvest. Considering that it would be almost impossible to make use of it, Lawrence had decided to let it be stored in the barns and to burn it with the buildings. His instructions

were that the country must be made an uninhabitable wilderness, so as to force deserters to give themselves up and to discourage the return of the exiles. Accompanied by an escort of soldiers, Winslow made a tour of inspection through the surrounding country and ascertained, with regret, that much of the grain was still standing in the fields. On the Tuesday, he went to Pigiguit to come to a definite understanding with Murray and to draw up the proclamation that was to be addressed to the inhabitants. It was translated into French by a man called *Beauchamp*, a merchant at Pigiguit.*

It reads as follows :

"To the inhabitants of the District of Grand Pré, Mines, river Canad and places adjacent, as well ancients as young men and lads.

Whereas, His Excellency the Governor, has instructed us of his *late resolution* respecting *the matter proposed* to the inhabitants, and has ordered us to communicate the same in person, His Excellency being desirous that each of them *should be satisfied of His Majesty's intentions*, which he has also ordered us to communicate to you, *as they have been given to him* : We, therefore, order and strictly by these presents, all of the inhabitants as well of the above-named District as of all the other Districts, both old and young men, as well as the lads of ten years of age, to attend at the Church of Grand Pré, on friday, the 5th instant, at three of the clock in the afternoon, that we may impart to them what we are ordered to communicate to them ; declaring that *no excuse will be admitted on any pretence whatsoever on pain of forfeiting goods and chattels, in default of real estate.*

" Given at Grand Pré, 2nd Sept., 1755.

" JOHN WINSLOW."

*I think the name ought to be *Deschamps* instead of *Beauchamp*. Deschamps, who afterwards became a judge, was then, I believe, a clerk with Maugeat at Pigiguit. Winslow, being a stranger, may easily have mistaken the name, and I am almost sure he did.

A copy of this proclamation was made for Murray's use at Pigiguit.

Had there been, behind the arras, a stenographer to report verbatim the discussions arising out of the composition of this cunning document, his notes would have been highly interesting. The only object of this proclamation was to get the men and lads in the church at the appointed hour. The contents and the form would be all the more perfect according as they the better deceived the people. Murray, who must have known better than Winslow the character of the Acadians, was no doubt the principal composer of this paper. The discussion must have been a long one; so manifold are the methods of deceit. However, three principal points must have occurred to Murray's mind and been readily accepted by Winslow. First, vagueness of expression as to the purpose of the meeting; the clause, "of his *late resolution* respecting the matter proposed to the inhabitants," quite met this requirement. Lawrence had decided that, if they refused the oath, they should have to quit the country; as they had accepted this latter alternative, and as they had no reason to suspect anything more serious, when they were told that the Government had formed a resolution that was to be communicated to them, they would naturally think of some modification favorable to their desires. "Respecting the matter proposed" was suitably vague, and would leave a good impression. Second point: His Majesty's authority invoked. The good impression must be intensified when the people learn of "*His Majesty's intentions*," and that it was to let them hear these intentions that they were convoked. They could not easily doubt that Lawrence had really and truly received instructions from the

King, and these instructions, they naturally conjectured, would be either an extension of the time allowed for evacuating the country, with, perhaps, the privilege of carrying off their movables, or, still better, some new proposal, some middle term imposing military service on those only who should be born after this date, a proposal they would be glad to accept. In fact, some months before, they had addressed a petition to the French Government, praying the King, as custodian of the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht, to intervene in their favor with the King of England. They had begged of him to ask for a delay of three years before quitting the province, with the privilege of carrying away their effects and the facilities necessary to effectuate their transmigration. They would now say to themselves: the question has no doubt been definitively settled between the two crowns, and it must be with reference to this decision that Lawrence wishes us to be present.* They had everything to fear from Lawrence himself, but no injustice, or at least, no inhumanity from the British Government. They would, therefore, to all appearance, have no risk to run and everything to gain. It would seem impossible to them that Lawrence, or his subordinates, could invoke the King's authority falsely. Murray, on the other hand, could not but be aware that Lawrence had resolved upon the deportation without instructions, without orders from His Majesty, and that he could not have obtained them. This, then, must be

*The French Ambassador in London had submitted the petition of the Acadians to the Cabinet of St. James in the preceding May (1755), and the answer given in June or July had been: "In regard to the three years for transmigration proposed for the Acadians of the Peninsula, it would be depriving Great Britain of a very considerable number of useful subjects, if such transmigration should extend to those who were inhabitants there at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht (*Secretary of State to Lawrence, 13th August, 1755*).

an infallible means of ensuring obedience to the proclamation; past subterfuges would be forgotten in the face of such plausible assertions. Murray must have rubbed his hands with delight and have thought himself a deep diplomatist as he expounded to Winslow this creation of his brain.

Of course there remained a few difficulties that gave pause to Winslow and Murray. For instance, could the Acadians hope for good news, so long as their delegates were kept prisoners at Halifax? And that convocation of lads of ten years might well cause astonishment and distrust. What if the cat were thus let out of the bag? But Lawrence's orders were precise: men and lads above ten years of age were to be seized, put on board ship and sent off before anything was done with the women and younger children. To get round this obstacle, Murray invented the formula which ends the Proclamation and constitutes the Third Point settled on before the document was composed. Threats of forfeiture were to be uttered in these words: "declaring that no excuse will be admitted on any pretence whatsoever on pain of forfeiting goods and chattels, *in default of real estate.*" This would lead the Acadians to infer unhesitatingly that the new instructions received from His Majesty must be exceedingly favorable, since there was question of forfeiting movables and even immovables, if they refused to attend. According to Lawrence's decision in presence of their delegates, the immovables were already forfeited. This proclamation seemed to imply that they were not; therefore, His Majesty's instructions must be such as to cause great rejoicing. And once more Murray rubbed his hands. This document, thought he, will be highly relished by

the Governor, and will raise me several degrees in his favor.

A few days before, Winslow, who now saw this part of the country for the first time, had sent Captain Adams to reconnoitre in the direction of Rivière aux Canards and Rivière des Habitants, and Captains Hobbs and Osgood in other directions. Adams reported that it was "a fine country and full of inhabitants, a beautiful church, abundance of the goods of this world, and provisions of all kinds in great plenty." Hobbs, who had visited Melançon village and the River Gaspereau, and Osgood, who had reconnoitred the rivers in the Pigiguit district, made equally favorable reports. Murray wrote again to Winslow on September 4th: "All the people quiet, and very busy at their harvest; if this day keeps fair, all will be in here in their barns. I hope to-morrow *will crown all our wishes.*"

Stung by Braddock's rout at Monongahela, Winslow had written, when he was still at Beauséjour and *before the official decision of the deportation*, this abominable letter:

"We are now hatching the noble and great project of banishing the French Neutrals from this province; they have ever been our secret enemies, and have encouraged our Indians to cut our throats. If we can accomplish this expulsion, it will have been one of the greatest deeds the English in America have ever achieved; for, among other considerations, *the part of the country which they occupy is one of the best soils in the world*, and, in that event, *we might place some good farmers on their homesteads.*"

Rameau de Saint Père comments thus on this letter:

"The most brutal of the pirates that issued from the rocks of Norway to go and lay waste the coasts of Europe, in the year 1000, would not have published a more ferocious and cynical proclamation to collect around him the companions of his brigandage."

Let us not be more severe on Winslow than is becoming. This terrible defeat of Braddock had thrown the English provinces into consternation; one must read the chronicles of the time to form an idea of the mental and moral confusion which that event had produced. Rage made men ferocious. Everything French was included in a hate which seemed insatiable except by complete extermination. This state of public opinion was of great assistance to Lawrence in his projects. Winslow was under the influence of this popular frenzy, and we should, before judging him, make allowance for that influence. The historian, more than all other men, is in duty bound to be indulgent; he must take account of the special circumstances of the epoch he is describing, if he wishes to set a proper value on men and their doings. Now, war means hatred. From one day to the next it works a complete revolution in men's minds. In a moment brains are on fire, blood is up, the friend is transformed into a foe. A victory makes a whole nation wild with joy; a defeat arouses hot indignation and fierce rage. In America this effect was intensified by the necessary interference of the Indian element, with the cruelties that were its inevitable accompaniment. On either side the redskin was a much-sought auxiliary; war became an ambush. This defeat at Monongahela, brought about by the infatuation of Braddock, was particularly exasperating because it had afforded no scope for mili-

tary valor as understood in Europe. The outburst of anger and hatred that ensued was unjust; but, psychologically, it could not be otherwise. Lawrence, having all power in his hands, had found it easy to take advantage of this madness and to mould his subordinates to his views. Seldom does it happen that the servant, for whom flattery is a necessity, fails to outdo his master. A prey to this morbid infection, Winslow had come to Grand Pré. The severity of military discipline, the love of glory, warlike ardor, the very intensity of patriotism, act upon the soldier as mighty forces beating back to the bottom of his heart the tenderness of his better nature. It seems that these feelings were lulled only for the moment in Winslow, and that he was influenced to a certain extent by the scene of peace and contentment that lay before him. From the presbytery, wherein he had taken up his quarters, the eye embraced a wide prospect of country. Whithersoever he turned his gaze, he saw naught but restfulness, plenty and happiness. Those who had chosen this lovely retreat, "far from the madding crowd," must have been drawn thereto by the wish to dwell peacefully in a safe asylum. He had expected to find a restless and turbulent people, ready to rise in revolt; instead of which, he comes and goes among them, he asks for the keys of the presbytery and the church, which are eagerly handed to him; he lodges there, he arranges his camp, he fortifies it; squads of soldiers march up and down the country roads; all this produces no unusual stir; his orders are obeyed with submission and respect; the harvest labors are pursued with unabated zeal. Is this, he must have asked himself, the attitude of an unruly and rebellious people? He had

come in the temper of a general marching against an experienced and formidable adversary; he found himself confronted by peaceable and trustful men, by harmless women and children. He was disarmed. Was he, a brave officer, thirsting for battle and renown, to become the executioner of a submissive and defenceless people, to make a desert of this fair land, to ruin the lives of an entire generation? God forbid. He must have been deceived. These good people could not deserve the fate he was preparing for them. Perhaps their stubbornness seemed stupid to him; but it was based on motives which mankind has ever respected. He could not but admit that they were sincere in their belief, superstitious though it seemed to him, and in their patriotism, to which they sacrificed all else that was most dear. Perhaps also he had a pre-sentiment that history would deal with himself far more severely than with his victims.

Such, I believe, were the anxious thoughts that haunted his mind when he entered in his Journal the following cry apparently wrung from his inmost soul: "Things are now very heavy on my heart and hands. . . I impatiently wait. . . That, once at length, we may get over this troublesome affair, which is more grievous to me than any service I was ever employed in."

And further on: . . . "Shall soon have our hands full of the disagreeable business to remove them from their ancient habitations, which, in this part of the country are very valuable. . ."

Winslow was no ordinary man. He held a high position in the provinces of New England. He was a thoughtful man, as the Journal he kept shows. To judge from an entry he made in it some days before, he

seems to have had an eye to posterity. As he was leaving Beauséjour for Grand Pré, Monckton, the Commander-in-Chief, had obliged him to leave behind him his regimental flag. Winslow thought this order a breach of courtesy, and told him indignantly that this action of his was strange and *would appear so in history*. Now, as this incident was far from important enough to be an historical event, and would have been forgotten but for his mention of it, we may be warranted in supposing that Winslow meant to publish his Journal. It did indeed become public property in this way. It had lain for seventy years in the treasures of the Massachusetts Historical Society, when that part of it which treats of the events we are now reviewing finally saw the light. In the absence of public documents, which, as we have seen, were abstracted from the Archives, this Journal of Winslow takes on great value. Though it refers only to the scenes in which he himself was the chief actor at Grand Pré, and though we still know nothing, or next to nothing, of what occurred at Pigiguit, Cobequid, Annapolis and Beauséjour, yet what Winslow gives us is very precious. If he wrote for posterity, he must, evidently, have put himself in the most favorable light ; but the fact that he was aware of the odious part he was playing entitles us to grant him the benefit of any mercy his situation may elicit. The orders he had received were severe, and cruelty was as inseparable from the execution of them as cutting is inseparable from the surgeon's art. To make his success more complete he had to tell no end of lies. It may very well be that he never made any such reflections as I have suggested above, nor experienced any of those feelings I have described ; but, for

the honor of mankind and civilization, I prefer to err on the side of charity. Of Handfield and Monckton's feelings we know little ; but as for Scott and Prebble, and, above all others, Murray, they are entitled to no such leniency. Winslow's Journal produces a letter from Handfield, which, to his honor, contains the following : " I heartily join with you in wishing that we were both of us got over this most disagreeable and troublesome part of the service."

Here is what Prebble wrote to Winslow from Beauséjour :

. . . " We rejoice to hear of your safe arrival at Grand Pré and am well pleased that you are provided with so good quarters for yourself and soldiers ; as you have taken possession of the friar's house, hope you will execute the office of priest."

A few days later :

. . . " I rejoice to hear that the lines are fallen to you in pleasant lands, and that you have a *goodly heritage*. I understand you are surrounded by the good things of this world and having a *sanctified place for your habitation*, hope you will be prepared for the enjoyments of another. . . . We have only this to comfort us, that we are as *nigh to heaven* as you are at Grand Pré, and since we are denied our good things in this world, doubt not we shall be happy in the next."

" JEDEDIAH PREBBLE,

" Camp at Cumberland (Beauséjour),
5th Sept., 1855."

After citing these and other letters, Philip H. Smith, in his "Acadia—A Lost Chapter in American History," adds : " We will not burden these pages with more of this sickening religious cant. Such professions of piety made by men engaged in the work they were in, appear to be little short of sacrilege."

Mr. Smith takes these rollicking blackguards too seriously. Their jocose references to Holy Scripture were not meant to be "professions of piety," and therefore do not rise even to the dignity of hypocrisy—which is, after all, an indirect homage to genuine virtue.

CHAPTER XXX.

Memorable day, September 5th, at Grand Pré—Four hundred and fifteen adults gathered in the church—Reading the edict of deportation—Usurped powers—Despatch of the Secretary of State, Sir Thomas Robinson, to Lawrence, dated August 18th, in reply to his letter of June 28th—The Secretary of State greatly alarmed at Lawrence's disguised projects—Either this despatch came too late or Lawrence feigns not to have received it in time—October 18th, he briefly announces the deportation to the Lords of Trade without replying to the despatch of August 18th, to which he replies only on November 30th and then briefly—Letter of March 25th, 1756—The very important despatch of August 18th is passed over in silence by almost all writers—Brown and Parkman.

THE memorable fifth of September is now come. The meeting was fixed for three o'clock in the afternoon. The most anxious person was probably Winslow himself; as yet, indeed, he had noticed no sign of anxiety on the part of the Acadians; the proclamation had given rise to no grouping of loiterers; not the slightest excitement was visible. Everything seemed to favor the full success of his treachery; but the situation was so novel, so strange, the work in hand so barbarous, that he could not help the nervous dread that beset him. He was humbled, ashamed of himself; at the same time he was most desirous that his enterprise should succeed. Should there be refusal to obey and resistance, to what cruel extremities would he not be obliged to resort against a despairing and unarmed people? He must

have run through all the mental struggles that the perpetration of a first crime entails upon a hitherto faithful servant.

The clock was soon about to mark for the Acadian people the end of a century of quiet enjoyment. During the past year the serenity of the olden time had disappeared; clouds had gathered thicker and more numerous above their heads; the storm was upon them and was growing. In quick succession, their arms, their boats, their archives and their priests had been taken from them; one hundred and fifteen of the principal citizens, simply because they had refused to take the oath, were still languishing in the prisons of Halifax; now their churches were profaned. True, the proclamation implied the intervention of the English Government, which was calculated to give them confidence; but what was the meaning of this deploying of troops, this intrenched camp, this occupation of their church and their presbytery? Evidently the wished-for intervention was a myth; else this armed force would be inexplicable. The occupation of their church clearly meant that their priests would not be restored to them, and, in that case, it was impossible for them to remain, even if they were allowed. To go, they were resolved; and yet the thought of leaving that dear spot, that beloved country, their property, their herds, in order to begin elsewhere the labor of a century, had made them sad. Joy had flown; the home circle was gloomy and silent. This convocation could only be the sentence of departure; but at least, thought they, the Government would give them the time and the facilities necessary for their transportation into French territory; and perchance, moved by so much misfortune, it would allow them to

carry with them their effects and the harvest they had just garnered. On the other hand, what favors could they hope for if left at Lawrence's mercy? That man had never known or shown pity. No; unless there was some intervention of the Home Government, this convocation must be a warning of some greater woe. Nevertheless they reached the practical conclusion that obedience to orders was after all the wisest course.

Winslow, too, had his troubles, though very different in kind. So has the cat watching the mouse, so has the wolf waiting for the lamb. His anxious eyes often scanned the dusty roads ending at Grand Pré. Soon, at intervals, he espied afar off light clouds of dust; people on foot were slowly wending their way from neighboring farms; then came well-filled carts from the Rivers Perreau, des Habitants, Canard and Gaspereau; the numbers were increasing; they all passed before the church casting anxious looks on the public square covered with tents and soldiers; then the village was full; the new-comers had scattered in groups in the houses, on the door-steps, along the fences. All these groups were grave and almost silent. They exchanged a few words on the weather, the harvest, absent friends, or on indifferent subjects; but minds were busy with other thoughts; concern was to be read on every face; men involuntarily looked in the direction of the church and the presbytery; but, as often happens on such sad and solemn occasions, it was the object of the meeting that they spoke least of. People leaned forward to hear an opinion; there was a questioning look in their eyes; but the ordinary advisers were prisoners at Halifax; nobody seemed to have any settled opinion.

There was a great gathering at Père Landry's and a still greater one at the house of the old notary René Leblanc. Besides his twenty children and his many grandchildren, there were a host of relatives and friends. He himself, ever so full of confidence, so partial to the Government, and so zealous in its service, seemed that day anxious and mournful; in answer to questions he had let fall some words of encouragement, but his countenance betrayed his troubled state of mind.*

The clock was on the stroke of three; the officers appeared on the threshold of the priest's house; the groups had begun to move; they had drawn near to the church. They had entered.

Winslow followed closely in full uniform, surrounded by his officers. He took his place at a table set in the middle aisle; his glance rested on that silent crowd, kneeling because, despite the profanation of their temple, it was still the hallowed place, the house of prayer. They had knelt partly through habit perhaps, but also to implore God's help in their hour of distress. The church was full; there were present four hundred and eighteen men and lads above ten years of age. It was a complete success.

It were idle to attempt to analyze the wild war of inward emotion produced by the reading of this eternally infamous document. Deep grief is dumb.

What Winslow read was as follows:

"GENTLEMEN,—I have received from His Excellency Governor Lawrence, *the King's instructions, which I*

* When Grand Pré was invested by the Indians five years before, the notary Leblanc, who had opposed the departure of the inhabitants, was taken prisoner by the Indians. He had been restored to liberty after four years of captivity.

have in my hand. By his orders you are called together to hear *His Majesty's final resolution* concerning the French inhabitants of this Province of Nova Scotia, who for more than half a century have had more indulgence granted them than any of his subjects in any part of his dominions. What use you have made of it, you yourselves best know.

"The duty I am now upon, though necessary, is very disagreeable to my natural make and temper, as I know it must be grievous to you, who are of the same species. But it is not my business to animadvert on the orders I have received, but to obey them; and therefore, without hesitation, I shall deliver to you *His Majesty's instructions and commands*, which are, that your lands and tenements and cattle and live stock of all kinds are forfeited to the crown, with all your other effects, except money and household goods, and that you yourselves are to be removed from this his Province.

"*The peremptory orders of His Majesty* are, that all the French inhabitants of these Districts be removed, and, *through His Majesty's goodness*, I am directed to allow you your money and as many of your household goods as you can take without overloading the vessels you go in. I shall do everything in my power that all these goods be secured to you, and that you be not molested in carrying them away, and also that whole families shall go in the same vessel; so that this removal, which I am sensible must give you a great deal of trouble, may be made as easy as His Majesty's service will admit; and I hope that in whatever part of the world your lot may fall, you may be faithful subjects, and a peaceable and *happy people*.

"I must also inform you, that it is *His Majesty's*

pleasure that you remain in security under the inspection and direction of the troops that I have the honor to command."

They were prisoners. "They were greatly struck," says he, "though I believe they did not imagine that they were actually to be removed."

The church served as a prison for them, and their families were notified to bring them food. "Thus," says Winslow in his Journal, "ended the memorable 5th of September, a day of great fatigue and trouble."

Before proceeding further, I will stop to consider one of the important assertions of the Proclamation and of the edict of expulsion. Winslow declares: "I have received" "*the King's instructions, which I have in my hand*" "*His Majesty's final resolution*" "*The peremptory orders of His Majesty are*" Nothing could be more positive. Winslow held in his hand the instructions of His Majesty. And yet nothing could be more false. The falsity of these declarations is proved, beyond the slightest doubt, by an official document, authentic and precise, by a letter from the Secretary of State, Sir Thomas Robinson, to Lawrence, which is in the volume of the Archives.

I have cited, in a preceding chapter, the despatch which Lawrence addressed to the Lords of Trade on June 28th, shortly after the capitulation of Beauséjour. In this despatch he informed them that, on taking the fort, he had found therein 150 soldiers and 300 Acadians: "*The deserted Acadians*," he said, "delivered up their arms; I gave orders to Colonel Monckton at all events to expel from the country *the deserted Acadians*, although, if he needed their services to put the troops

under cover, he might first make use of them for that purpose."

Lawrence had made this passage purposely ambiguous. Did he mean to expel all the Acadians who dwelt in the north of the Peninsula, or the Acadian refugees, or merely the three hundred men found armed at the surrender of the Fort? The most obvious interpretation seemed to be that he meant all the Acadian refugees, who were in considerable numbers. The reply of the Secretary of State shows that these violent measures, which nothing seemed to justify, had thrown himself and the Lords of Trade into great alarm. This letter is dated August 13th, about six weeks after Lawrence's; so that it must have been written without any delay. And, to signify the importance which the Lords of Trade attached to it, this reply, by an exceedingly rare exception, was made in the name of the Secretary of State himself; and, to emphasize it still more, its essential passages were underlined.

Here are its essential parts:

. . . . "Whatever construction may be put upon the word *Pardonné* in the fourth article of the capitulation of Beauséjour, it is observed by your letter of the 28th of June, that you had given orders to Colonel Monckton to drive the deserted French inhabitants at all events out of the country. It does not clearly appear whether you mean to drive away all the Acadians of the Peninsula, which amount to many thousand, or such of them, as you say, as were living in the neighborhood of Beauséjour, or, lastly, whether you mean, only such as were found at Beauséjour, when evacuated by the garrison; the latter seems rather to have been your intention, as you add, *that if M. Monckton wants the as-*

sistance of the deserted Acadians, in putting the troops under cover, he might first make them do all the service in their power. Let your intention have been what it will, it is not doubted but that you have considered the pernicious consequences that may arise from an alarm which may have been given to the whole body of the French Neutrals and how suddenly an insurrection may follow from despair, or what an additional number of useful subjects may be given by their flight to the French King. It cannot, therefore, be too much recommended to you, to use the greatest caution and prudence in your conduct towards these Neutrals, and to assure such of them, as may be trusted, specially upon their taking the oath, that they may remain in the quiet possession of their settlements under proper regulations. What has led me to a more particular notice of this part of your letter, is the following proposal, that was made no longer ago than in the month of May last by the French ambassador, viz. : That all the French inhabitants of the Peninsula, should have three years allowed them to remove from thence with their effects, and should be favored with all means of facilitating this removal, which the English would, undoubtedly, look upon as very advantageous to themselves. Whereupon, His Britannic Majesty was pleased to order an answer to be given, which I now send you for your particular information in the following words, viz. : In regard to the three years transmigration proposed for the Acadians of the Peninsula, it would be depriving Great Britain of a very considerable number of useful subjects, if such transmigration should extend to those who were inhabitants there at the time of the treaty and to their descendants."

One could scarcely be more explicit. This reply is a formal condemnation, not merely of any such hideous plan as Lawrence's deportation, but even of expulsion in any form, not merely of the Peninsular Acadians, nor of those who dwelt in the territory lately occupied by the French, but even of those who were found armed in the Fort at the capitulation of Beauséjour. The letter also condemns Lawrence's interpretation of the word *pardonné* (forgiven) with respect to this last class of Acadians. As will be seen further on, Lawrence pretended that the word *pardonné* simply meant that they would not be put to death. It is easy to see that the Secretary of State did not understand it in that way. By obvious implication, what he says amounts to this: I do not admit your interpretation of the word *pardonné*; in virtue of this clause of the capitulation they could not be expelled, nor punished, nor disturbed for the part they had taken in the siege of Beauséjour; but, supposing that your interpretation were allowable, the consequences of an expulsion as to these would be too pernicious to allow it to be carried out.

The whole question of the views and responsibility of the Home Government as to the deportation is summed up in this despatch of the Secretary of State. It formally condemns that cruel deed: for it condemns a partial expulsion that was infinitely less cruel and unjust than the deportation. And this opinion the Secretary of State had formulated after the receipt of Lawrence's letter of June 28th, after the fall of Beauséjour, in spite of false representations. Nor could subsequent events have altered his opinion, since, as we have seen, nothing happened after this date that could modify such a carefully formed opinion; on the contrary, the

Acadians showed the most unlimited submissiveness under intolerable provocations and persecution. And, as if the better to accentuate the views of the British Government, we read, in this letter of the Secretary of State, that His Majesty had just refused to the French Ambassador a permission to depart which the Acadians had solicited, because "*it would be depriving Great Britain of a very considerable number of useful subjects.*" By the way, it may be proper to remark that this refusal, as formulated in the above letter, seems to imply leave to depart, within three years with their movable effects, to all those living outside the Peninsula. At any rate, what a difference between the language of wise and enlightened statesmen and that of a wretched upstart, unfeeling and heartless like Lawrence! And how bitter must have been his oppression, when it drove men that clung so tenaciously to their country and property to implore that they might be allowed to leave! Is this the behavior of people prone to resistance?

At the date of this despatch of Sir Thomas Robinson's, Monckton, Handfield, Murray, and Winslow had already been ten days in possession of their orders for the deportation, and Lawrence was attending to the preparations therefor with feverish energy. The haste with which he worked can scarcely be explained except by his fear of receiving a snub that would put an end to his projects.

All the contents of this despatch are a flat contradiction of Lawrence's conduct at the time. While the one counselled moderation and kindness, the other was doing his best to drive the Acadians to that despair against which Sir Thomas Robinson warned him. But, in spite

of his seizure of arms, of boats, of archives, of priests, and his imprisoning one hundred and fifteen of the principal citizens, he was at his wits' end; he could not drive them to despair. He had gone beyond what he thought would justify resistance unto death, and he had not even provoked the slightest disobedience.

"I beg leave to ask," says Casgrain, who has written an eloquent comment of this despatch of the English Secretary of State, "what was there in common between the barbarous behavior of Lawrence and the instructions, so humane, so conciliatory, of the British Cabinet? Is it not evident that Lawrence most firmly resolved to rid himself at any cost of the Acadians, *the most inveterate enemies to our religion*, as he hypocritically said in the despatch wherein he afterwards announced the deportation? What wonder if, after such treatment, they were afraid to take the unqualified oath he required of them with the severity of a Roman proconsul? And, what is most incredible is that, after all this intimidation, when those of them who finally made up their minds to take an oath so formidable in their eyes presented themselves before Lawrence, instead of welcoming them with extreme wariness and prudence and ensuring to them the tranquil possession of their lands, as Sir Thomas Robinson enjoined him to do, he rejected their offer with disdain, and told them *"that it was too late, and that henceforth they would be treated as Popish recusants."*

Was the oath mentioned in this despatch of the Secretary of State? Yes; but not in a way to oblige Lawrence to impose it, since, after the other recommendations I have just commented on, Sir Thomas adds: "and to assure such of them as may be trusted, spe-

cially upon their taking the oath, that they may remain in the quiet possession of their settlements under proper regulations." Was this not equivalent to saying: Allow those who will consent to take the oath the quiet possession of their settlements; and do not molest those who should refuse, but avoid any imprudence towards these latter, so as to induce them to take the oath of their own accord?

There is no mistaking the drift of this despatch. It breathes the same spirit as all previous dispatches from the same source. Despite the misrepresentations of Lawrence and of some of his predecessors, the Lords of Trade were pretty accurately informed of the situation; it was not easy to deceive them out and out; besides, they naturally inferred that, since the few refugees who took up arms did so only under threat of death, there was nothing to fear from those who remained quiet on their lands. That scruple about military service on the part of men who, willingly or not, had crossed the frontier, when the withdrawal of the neutral status they had hitherto enjoyed and had accepted as a condition of their stay in the country gave them clearly the right to fight for France, was a signal proof of their sincerity and rectitude. Such facts could be appreciated by the Lords of Trade even through the intentional mist of official documents. As against these men expulsion was an injustice, as against the others a crime. But when, in lieu of expulsion pure and simple, it becomes a deportation into foreign colonies, depositing them here and there in places far distant from each other, without any effort to keep families together, the act takes on the proportions of an indescribable monstrosity.

"There have been instances, in the annals of the past," says Philip H. Smith, "in which a country has been desolated in time of actual war, and where the inhabitants were found in arms; but we defy all past history to produce a parallel case, in which an unarmed and peaceable people have suffered to such an extent as did the French *Neutrals* of Acadia."

Bancroft, the eminent historian of the United States, has thus stigmatized the deportation: "These unfortunate Acadians were guilty of no other crime than their attachment to France. I know not if the annals of the human species have preserved the memory of woes inflicted with so much complacency, cruelty and persistence."

John Clark Ridpath, another well-known American historian, refers to it as follows: "Governor Lawrence and Admiral Boscawen, in conference with the Chief Justice of the Province (Belcher), settled upon the atrocious measure of driving the people into banishment. The first movement was to demand an oath of allegiance which was so framed that they could not take it. The next step on the part of the English was to accuse the Acadians of treason and to demand the surrender of all their firearms and boats. To this measure the broken-hearted people also submitted. They even offered to take the oath, but Lawrence declared that, having once refused, they must now take the consequences. The history of civilized nations furnishes no parallel to this wanton and wicked destruction of an inoffensive colony."

The Rev. Andrew Brown, who lived at Halifax shortly after the deportation, and who knew better than any one else the extent of this crime and the cir-

cumstances that accompanied it, says in the MS. already quoted: "I can take upon me, *from a painful examination of the whole matter*, to assert that Raynal neither knew *nor suspected the tenth part* of the distress of the Acadians, and that, excepting the massacre of St. Bartholomew, I know of no act equally reprehensible as the Acadian deportation that can be laid to the charge of the French nation. In their colonies, nothing was ever done that at all approaches to it in cruelty and atrociousness."

A considerable number of writers might be quoted who have all condemned the deportation just as severely. Strictly speaking, not one has entirely approved it. He who comes nearest to an approval is Parkman. Some seem to have striven earnestly to extenuate the guilt of the Provincial Government and to throw as much blame as they could on the Acadians. In this there is nothing surprising, nothing that would call for scathing reproof. At most they may be charged with thoughtlessness or want of perspicacity. Unless one had been able to penetrate the interested motives of Lawrence and his councillors, it was natural to suppose that there must have been some excuse, and, as they did not ferret out the true motives, their well-meant efforts and inferences are not blameworthy. Most of those who have related these events are English writers, and it is creditable to them as well as consoling for all, that the great majority of them have had the courage and the candor to condemn an act that seriously affected the honor of their nation. It is a consolation for me, and it must be so for every born British subject, that the Home Government had nothing to do with this infamous project. The despatch of the

Secretary of State establishes beyond a doubt that Lawrence was usurping powers that he neither had nor could have had, that Winslow was lying when he affirmed in his edict of expulsion that he held in his hand His Majesty's instructions ordering the deportation; and it is not surprising that the Acadians, up to the last moment, refused to believe him, as Winslow himself says.

This despatch of the Secretary of State, dated August 13th, could, under ordinary circumstances, reach Halifax about the 15th, or the 20th of September, forty days before the general exodus of the Acadians; and yet Lawrence did not reply to it till the 30th of November, three months and a half after its date. Are we to suppose that Lawrence received it within the usual time, or at least before the embarkation, and that he purposely refrained from answering it till November 30th, with a view to escape the imputation of disobedience, or that the letter was really so long in coming? Had he received it when, on October 18th, he wrote to the Lords of Trade announcing that the deportation was partly executed, which, by the way, was false? I am inclined to think he had: for even at that date, two months and five days—much more than the average time for a passage from London to Halifax—had elapsed. Lawrence's last letter was dated July 18th; so that he had been exactly three months without communicating with the Lords of Trade. As at such an extraordinary juncture he was more than usually bound to keep them well informed of everything that happened, we cannot help concluding that this long silence was intentional. Doubtless, in the case of the Secretary of State's despatch, the long delay may be attri-

buted to the uncertainties of navigation in those days; but, when we have to deal with so artful a dodger as Lawrence, we are warranted in closely scrutinizing all his actions, and, in suspecting him wherever his interest may give rise to suspicion. And in this connection, it will be advisable to anticipate a little and examine just here all the letters exchanged on this subject between Lawrence and the Lords of Trade.

In his letter of October 18th Lawrence announces the deportation, and does it with the same artfulness and the same want of feeling that mark all his acts. He is laconic as to the details of the deportation; he speaks of it like a merchant writing about a cargo of merchandise, for which time and expense are the only really important considerations:

"Since my *last* of the 18th of July, the Acadian deputies have appeared before the council to give their final answer to the proposal about the oath; they have persistently refused, and though every means were used to point out their interest, and sufficient time given to consider, nothing would induce them to acquiesce in any measures *consistent with His Majesty's honour or the security of this Province*. Upon this behaviour, the *Council* came to a resolution to oblige them to quit the colony, and immediately took into consideration what might be the *speediest, cheapest and easiest* method of giving this resolution its intended effect. We easily foresaw that driving them out *by force* to Canada, would be attended with difficulty, and would have reinforced those settlements with a very considerable body of men who were ever universally *the most inveterate enemies to our religion*.

"The only means of preventing their return, or their collecting themselves again into a large body, was distributing them along the colonies from Georgia to New England. Accordingly, the vessels were hired at the *cheapest rates*; the embarkation is now in great forwardness, and I am in hopes that there will not be one remaining by the end of next month.

"I have taken all the care in my power to *lessen the expense*; the vessels were most of them bound to the places where the Acadians

were destined, and by that means are hired *greatly cheaper*. They have hitherto been victualled with their own provisions, and will be supplied for the passage with those taken at Beauséjour as far as they will go.

"In order to *save as many of the Acadian cattle as possible, I have given some of them among such of the English settlers as have the means of feeding them.*"

After saying that one of the good results of this exodus will be to afford excellent lands ready for tillage, he adds :

"As the French priests Chauvreulx, Daudin and Le Maire *were of no further use* in this Province, Vice-Admiral Boscawen has been so good as to take them on board his fleet, and is to give them a passage to England."

The rest of the letter, which is a tolerably long one, treats of the fortifications of Beauséjour, of Bay Verte, of the River St. John, etc., just as if these matters were the main object of his letter, and what concerned the deportation were merely an incident of secondary importance among the many details of his administration. The picture would have been incomplete had not Lawrence donned the mantle of religion and patriotism with which to cloak his crime—criminals on a large scale affect this method of self-defence—and so he deemed it good policy to dub the Acadians "*the most inveterate enemies to our religion*" and to represent them as refusing to acquiesce "*in any measures consistent with His Majesty's honour.*"

It is easy to imagine the worry and anxiety Lawrence must have felt at being obliged to inform the Lords of Trade of so portentous an event as the deportation of an entire people. However, it had to be done. To make this announcement before the embarkation, while

acknowledging receipt of the Secretary's despatch were impossible unless Lawrence were prepared to suspend operations. To proceed with the deportation in spite of the Secretary's known remonstrance were to condemn himself and to close every loophole of excuse. To make the announcement, even after the embarkation, but while acknowledging having received this despatch, were highly impolitic. The safer course would be to ignore the despatch, to pretend to act on his own responsibility as if he had not yet received any reply from England. Such were, I think, the motives that determined Lawrence to announce the deportation on October 18th without acknowledging receipt of the despatch of August 13th. Before replying to the latter he wanted to give himself time to prepare the way. Boscawen had left Halifax toward the end of October to return to England. As Lawrence had persuaded him to share the responsibility of his own acts, he had in him an accomplice highly interested in justifying the deportation ; but this accomplice must be allowed all the time needed to circumvent the Lords of Trade. Thus it was not till November 30th that Lawrence finally made up his mind to answer this awkward despatch.

The Compiler, as is his wont, has put asterisks in lieu of the first part of this very important letter. Probably, what is omitted would confirm my view ; but what we have is enough. We are now sufficiently accustomed to these omissions to understand their hidden meaning. In this letter of November 30th Lawrence explains at considerable length what he understood by the "deserted Acadians." He applies the term to those who had *voluntarily* crossed the frontier ; it was these he meant in his letter of June 28th. Passing on to that article of

the Beauséjour capitulation which referred to them, to wit :

" *Concerning the Acadians found in the Fort, as they took up arms under pain of death, they are pardoned,*" he thinks that the word *pardoned* merely signified that they would not be put to death.

"It was with these inhabitants alone that Lieut.-Col. Monckton had anything to do, for we could not easily at that time form any conjecture what turn the inhabitants of the Peninsula would take upon the surrender of Beauséjour, when it was thought they could entertain no further hopes of assistance from the French. But when we found the Acadians who had not deserted their lands, entertained the same disloyal sentiments with those who had, and positively rejected the oath of allegiance, we thought it high time to resolve, as well for *His Majesty's honour* as the immediate preservation of the province, that the whole Acadians, as well those who had not deserted as those who had, should be embarked aboard Transports and dispersed among the neighbouring colonies. By much the greater part of them are sailed, and I *flatter myself* by this time the whole. *I will not trouble you with any further account of this measure, having had already the honour to lay it fully before you in my letter of the 18th of October.*"

Let us note some of the false statements in this letter. Lawrence's interpretation of the word *pardoned* shows that he had no respect for solemn engagements, because that interpretation is altogether inadmissible. When he declares that the Acadians who crossed the frontier did so *willingly*, he knew that he was lying, for he was aware that the Indians had forced them to do so by burning their houses, and that they had applied for leave to return to their lands, though their situation on the other side of the frontier was perfectly justifiable. His boldest piece of deception, however, is his affirmation that he was obliged to include the Peninsular Acadians in his deportation scheme because, after the taking of Beauséjour, they entertained the same disloyal sentiments. Now I have proved that, even while

Beauséjour was besieged, Lawrence seized a part of their fire-arms by fraud, that they delivered up the remainder of their arms together with their boats on a mere order, that, a fortnight later, without insubordination on their part, without any act that might be construed as disloyal, the deportation was virtually decided upon, nay, that it was a settled purpose long before the fall of Beauséjour True, their loyalty, under his government, could scarcely rest on sentiment—man not being made to love chains nor those who rivet them on—but it rested on a sense of duty and of self-interest; which was quite as much as could be required, and far more than could be expected under such oppression.

As may be seen, the details in this letter, as well as in that of October 18th, are very scanty. Lawrence must, indeed, have been loath to dwell upon the facts, since in doing so he would have had to lay bare hateful proceedings of his own followed by a submission so complete as to open the eyes of his superiors; he would have had to explain that the Acadians had neither arms nor boats, and therefore were incapable of disturbing the peace of the country, had they wished to give trouble. But, a truce to comments; the reader is now sufficiently enlightened to be able to seize, without any help from me, all the craftiness of this letter, which, viewed in all its malignity, contains nothing to justify the deportation or, for that matter, any other measure of expulsion.

The following letter of the Lords of Trade to Lawrence, dated March 25th of the following year (1756), completes the correspondence on this subject, so far as it is known to us :

“ We look upon a war between us and France as inevitable. . .

“ We have laid that part of your letter which relates to the

removal of the Acadians and the steps you took in the execution of this measure before His Majesty's *Secretary of State*; and, as you represent it to have been *indispensably necessary* for the security and protection of the Province in the present critical situation of our affairs, we doubt not but that your conduct herein will meet with His Majesty's approbation."

Owing to the importance of the matter, it had been referred to the Secretary of State. Under these circumstances it was fitting that the Lords of Trade should express no opinion, and their reply is but the official intimation that the question had been submitted to the consideration of a higher authority. Lawrence had had time to use the influence of his friends; the war, already existing *de facto* was about to be officially proclaimed; in the din of battle, amid the anxieties of a long and desperate war this matter was lost sight of, the accomplished fact was accepted or put up with; Lawrence was or seemed to be safe. He felt he had run great risks; but, like a bold and lucky gambler, he had won. The wolf is not always killed for eating the lamb.

These letters save the honor of the British Government from all responsibility *ante factum* in this crime. They are published in the volume of the Archives; all those who have written on this subject since 1869 could consult them. How comes it, then, that neither Campbell, nor Hannay, nor Parkman mention them? Rameau, Casgrain and Brown are the only writers who refer to them. Haliburton and Murdoch wrote before the publication of the Archives, at a time when many official documents and certainly Lawrence's letters in the years 1755 and 1756 had been withdrawn. The Compiler succeeded in procuring in London duplicates of the let-

ters exchanged between Halifax and the Metropolis, among which, I suppose, are those I have reproduced. What, then, can have been the object of Parkman and others in ignoring so completely letters so important? I have sought for some answer to this question, and I must confess that no solution has seemed fully satisfactory in the case of some writers otherwise worthy of respect. There is surely no great difficulty in making out the gist of these letters; their meaning is perfectly clear and calls for no special exercise of perspicacity. All that is needed is a little patience in order to disentangle and readjust the data scattered through a maze of documents. No doubt the historians of this epoch, as a general rule, have not given themselves the trouble to penetrate the true inwardness of events; but this rule must admit of some exceptions. There is, of course, the obvious difficulty that the declarations of Lawrence and Winslow to the Acadians contradict the official documents of the Home Office; but those declarations are valueless if not based on these official documents, and worse than useless if they contradict the latter. Did the historians I allude to fear to ruin their theory of justification which they were attempting to palm off on the public? They would be sure to save England's honor by relieving the British Cabinet of all responsibility, so far as a Government can be acquitted of complicity with its officers; but, then, they must expose to view the plot in all its repulsive crudeness, they must sacrifice Lawrence and his council, they must give up trying to defend them. They seem to have preferred saving both Lawrence and the Home Office at the risk of saving neither—a not unprecedented proceeding. However, this explanation cannot apply to

Campbell, who, after strenuously striving to magnify the faults of the Acadians and minimize those of Lawrence and his accomplices, probably so as to explain what seemed to him unexplainable otherwise, ends by condemning the deportation in the following terms :

“The transportation of the Acadians in the manner executed was a blunder, and it is far more manly to acknowledge it as such than vainly to attempt to palliate or to excuse conduct at which, when coolly viewed in relation to its consequences, the moral instincts of mankind shudder.”

I am equally reluctant to include Hannay among the historians who defend both Lawrence and the Home Office, for, in spite of his unjustifiable inferences, he seems impartial as to facts. Parkman's case is quite other.

When the Rev. Andrew Brown was collecting, at Halifax in 1787, documents for the history that he purposed publishing, the suppression of those that bore on the period of the deportation does not seem to have been as complete as it was later on. He who had had the rare advantage of conversing with the authors and witnesses of this drama, who had sounded and, so to speak, handled the gigantic fraud at the bottom of it all, who sought nothing but the truth and honest excuses if they existed, immediately realized the immense importance of the despatch of the Secretary of State (August 13th). His patriotism had received a rude shock ; his heart, one feels, had bled at the humiliation inflicted on the fair fame of his country ; his brain was in a whirl at the recital of the inconceivable misfortunes heaped upon a whole people ; and now it is a pleasure to see with what intense satisfaction he notes

the discovery of this precious document. He appends to it this short comment: "*This important! . . . Government at least innocent!*" It was no mere comment, but rather a shout of joy bursting from his breast; his soul was relieved of the weight that was crushing it, the honor of his country was saved or partly saved. Thus does great emotion find vent. This exclamation of his involuntarily recalls that other cry of Archimedes. Brown too had his eureka, and if he did not run shouting through the streets of Halifax, he doubtless gave full play, in the secret of his sanctum, to his transports of delight. Parkman has also read the same document; but the animus of these two men is very different; Parkman utters no cry of relief. What delighted the one, perhaps affrighted the other. The former wished to fasten the guilt on some other than the Government; the latter wanted, it seems, to whitewash both. While the one purposed bringing this document to light and giving it all its importance, the other whispered to himself: *I must suppress it; I must put this light under a bushel.* That private note: "*Government at least innocent,*" is more telling in praise of Brown's moral rectitude than whole volumes of polished platitudes. Hitherto he had believed that the Home Office must have ordered the deportation; yet his conviction that it was an iniquity had not faltered; but now, though others of his race were guilty, thank God it was not the Government in London. He understood that if the self-respecting historian can, when hard pressed, grant his country the benefit of the doubt, he is in duty strictly bound to state facts as they are, be they ever so distasteful.

A little further on, Brown interjects this other remark:

"The Lords of Trade extremely guarded!"—"No blame imputable to them on the subject."

Considering that Parkman found Brown's manuscript, from beginning to end, a condemnation of all that he was writing on the deportation, it is not surprising that he maintains with regard to it an absolute silence. Pichon suited him infinitely better.*

Before Brown had remarked the usurpation of royal authority, Abbé Le Guerne had done so, soon after the shipping of the Acadians: "Mr. Lawrence," he says, "Governor of Chibouctou (Halifax). . . determined, *without consulting the Court of London*, to expatriate the Acadians and disperse them in the various countries of New England."

* We know that the deportation was accomplished with the assistance of the New England volunteers, who, under Winalow, had achieved the taking of Fort Beauséjour. The part they had in this melancholy affair was that of soldiers obeying orders, and therefore no blame can attach to them. Had Parkman any ancestors among them, and could he possibly have been influenced by that? With most people such a motive could not be even mentioned; with Parkman it is permissible in the absence of other known motives.

CHAPTER XXXI.

How the convocation and arrest of the Acadians succeeded in other places.—A few vessels arrive at Grand Pré.—Winslow decides to put all young men on board—They resist but finally obey.—Scenes of woe and distress—Correspondence between Murray, Winslow and Prebble showing their state of mind—Seven more vessels arrive four weeks later—Departure of the fleet on the 31st of October—Other incidents—Computations about the cattle of the Acadians.

I NOW go back to Grand Pré and other Acadian settlements to resume my narrative in connection with the proceedings to carry out the deportation. Whether it was that the details had not been conceived and executed with so much skill, or that the people were more suspicious, the success of the conspiracy in the other places was not so remarkable as at Grand Pré. Handfield complained to Winslow that several families had taken refuge in the woods: there had even been resistance and some men had been killed.

At Beauséjour, where Monckton was commandant, the failure was more striking. The proclamation which convoked all the inhabitants, was generally disobeyed; and Monckton could get together on his transports only about twelve hundred persons. This was about one third of the population. Major Frye, whom he had sent to the settlements of Chipody, Peticodiac and Memrancook, with orders to burn all the houses and carry off with him the women and children, could

execute only the first part of his instructions. At his approach, the entire population, having learnt the fate of those who had obeyed the proclamation, had fled to the woods. After burning 120 houses at Chipody, the church included, he entered the Peticodiac River and ascended it some distance, burning all the buildings on both sides of the stream. Reaching the principal village, he cast anchor and ordered Captain Adams, with sixty men, to join the detachments of Lieutenants Endicott and Billings, which were marching up the river along its banks. "Two hundred and fifty houses," says Haliburton, "were on fire at one time, in which a great quantity of wheat and flax were consumed. The miserable inhabitants beheld, from the adjoining woods, the destruction of their buildings and household goods with horror and dismay; nor did they venture to offer any resistance, until the wanton attempt was made to burn their chapel. This they considered as adding insult to injury, and rushing upon the party, who were too intent on the execution of their orders to observe the necessary precautions to prevent a surprise, they killed and wounded twenty-nine rank and file, and then retreated again to the cover of the forest."

Major Frye, feeling unable to do any more, withdrew, carrying off with him twenty-five infirm or invalid women found in the houses that were burned.

Abbé Le Guerne, who was in the neighborhood of Beauséjour before and after the deportation, related these events in detail at the very time in a letter to the commandant of Louisburg.

"After the taking of Beauséjour," says he, "I thought I perceived that the officers of the Fort were hiding sinister designs, while seeming to be interested in improv-

ing the settlements. An order came that all should go to the Fort, to make arrangements, it was said, about the lands. I felt tempted to advise disobedience to this order which, to my mind, boded ill; but, apart from the fact that I had promised the authorities not to meddle in temporal affairs, I feared that the Acadians would not listen to me. For *they regarded the English as their masters; they thought themselves secure under the solemn pledge of the capitulation; they thought themselves bound to obedience.* For these reasons I could not dissuade them therefrom without running the risk of bearing the responsibility of all the misfortunes that have befallen them, *for this disobedience of some would have been a specious and solitary pretext for severity against all.*

“As soon as those that went to the Fort were made prisoners, I saw clearly that concessions became useless. The English commandant, by his tempting promises, by captious offers, and even by presents, thought he had won me over to his interest. Thinking himself sure of me, he sent me word that he wished to see me. I took good care not to fall into the snare he had got ready for me; I replied that I did not mistrust him, but that he might receive orders against the missionaries, which he would be obliged to execute against me, and, since he was ordered to deport the Acadians, the only course left for me to adopt was to withdraw; but that I should gladly remain if he received contrary orders. To a letter in which he urged me again to banish all distrust, I answered that Mr. Maillard had been put on board ship in spite of the positive assurance of a governor, and that I deemed it better to withdraw than to expose myself in any way.”

Murray, at Pigiguit, fulfilled his task with a success fairly equal to that of Winslow at Grand Pré. The inhabitants did not submit to the proclamation with the same unanimity; yet they all finally yielded without making any resistance. On the very evening of the convocation, he thus reported his success to Winslow:

"I have succeeded finely, and have got one hundred and eighty-three men in my possession. I believe there are but very few left, except their sick. I am hopeful you have had equally as good luck; should be glad you would send me Transports as soon as possible. I should also esteem it a favor, if you could also send me an officer and thirty men more, as I shall be obliged to send to some distant rivers, where they are not all come yet."

The day after the arrest, the prisoners of Grand Pré begged Winslow to allow a certain number of them to visit their families in order to acquaint them with what had occurred and to console them. After consulting with his officers, Winslow consented to let twenty prisoners, of whom ten were from Rivière aux Canards and ten from Grand Pré, go every day, by turns, to visit their families, on condition that the others be responsible for their return.

Patrols scoured the country in every direction to seize on such as had not responded to the call. With the exception of some who were killed while trying to run away, and of some others who succeeded in escaping, all those who had held back gave themselves up as prisoners. In a few days the number of prisoners was over five hundred.

Winslow's Journal contains a petition that was addressed to him by the captives a few days after their arrest. It is eloquent in its simplicity, touching by the

sentiments it expresses. Strong as was their attachment to their property, to their country ; great as were their woes and griefs, what they were most anxious about was their spiritual welfare. In this overwhelming disaster, when it would seem that nature stifles every feeling except the sense of present evil, the last and only favor they begged of their tormentors, who refused it, referred to their religious interests.

" At the sight," wrote they, " of the evils that seem to threaten us on every side, we are obliged to implore your protection and to beg of you to intercede with His Majesty, that he may have a care for those amongst us who have inviolably kept the fidelity and submission promised to His Majesty ; and, as you have given us to understand that the King has ordered us to be transported out of this Province, we beg of you that, if we must forsake our lands, we may at least be allowed to go to places where we shall find fellow-countrymen, all expenses being defrayed by ourselves ; and that we may be granted a suitable length of time therefor ; and all the more because, by this means, we shall be able to preserve our religion, which we have deeply at heart, and for which we are content to sacrifice our property."

Did Winslow understand the sublimity of the sentiments expressed in this petition ? His Journal does not tell us. He moves on without a word of comment. He was engaged upon a job that allowed him neither to turn back nor to open his heart to pity. He had orders to arrest the men and lads above ten years, to put them on board the ships and to send them away. He had successfully performed the first part of his task ; there now remained the embarkation, which was to be the greatest wrench of all. Lawrence's pitiless edict willed it so ; everything must be sacrificed to ensure the safe accomplishment of his plan.

As indignation was openly expressed at his hard-heartedness, he took advantage of the arrival of five

vessels to proceed immediately with the embarkation. In the forenoon of September 10th, he sent word to the prisoners by Père Landry, who acted as interpreter, that two hundred and fifty of them, beginning by the young men, would be put on board ship directly; that they had but one hour to get ready, seeing that the tide was on the point of ebbing. "Landry was extremely surprised," says Winslow, "but I told him that the thing must be done, and that I was going to give my orders." As I have not access to Winslow's Journal, I will let Casgrain relate the episode of this embarkation.*

"The prisoners were brought before the garrison and drawn up in column, six abreast. Then the officers ordered all the unmarried men, to the number of a hundred and fifty-one, to step out of the ranks; and, after having put these latter in order of march, they flanked them on all sides with eighty soldiers of the garrison under command of Captain Adams.

"Up to this moment all these unfortunate men had submitted without resistance; but, when they were told to march towards the shore and be there put on board ship, they protested and refused to obey. It was no use commanding and threatening them; all were obstinate in their revolt, with cries and extreme excitement, saying truly that, by this barbarous measure, sons were separated from their fathers, brothers from their brothers. This was the beginning of that inexcusable dismemberment of families which has stained with an indelible blot the name of its authors.

"When one knows that some of these young people were mere lads from ten to twelve years old, and there-

* *Pèlerinage au Pays d'Évangéline.*

fore much less to be feared than married men in the vigor of manhood, who had greater interests to protect, it is impossible to understand this refinement of cruelty."

Let Winslow himself relate this part of the incident:

"I ordered ye prisoners to march. They all answered they would not go without their fathers. I told them that was a word I did not understand, for that the King's command was to me absolute and should be absolutely obeyed and that I did not love harsh means, but that the time did not admit of parlies or delays, and then ordered the whole troops to fix their bayonets and advance towards the Acadians, and bid the 4 right hand files of the prisoners, consisting of 24 men, which I told off myself to divide from the rest, one of whom I took hold of who opposed the marching, and bid march; he obeyed and the rest followed, though slowly, and went off praying, singing, and crying, being met by the women and children all the way (which is 1½ mile) with great lamentations upon their knees, praying, etc., etc."

"Another squad," Casgrain continues, "composed of a hundred married men, was embarked directly after the first amid similar scenes. Fathers inquired of their wives on the shore where their sons were, brothers asked about their brothers, who had just been led into the ships; and they begged the officers to put them together. By way of answer the soldiers thrust their bayonets forward and pushed the captives into the boats."

Two days before this first embarkation Murray wrote to Winslow:

"I received your favor, and am extremely pleased that things are so clever at Grand Pré, and that the poor devils are so resigned; here they are more patient than I could have expected for persons so circumstanced, and, what still surprises me, quite unconcerned. When I think of those at Annapolis, I appear over thoughtful of summoning them in; I am afraid there will be some difficulty in getting them

together ; you know our soldiers hate them, and if they can but find a pretext to kill them they will. I am really glad to think your camp is so well secured—as the French said, at least a good prison for inhabitants. I long much to see the poor wretches embarked, and our affairs a little settled, and then I will do myself the pleasure of meeting you *and drinking their good voyage.*”

The vessels that were to bring provisions and transport the captives were very late in arriving. Murray and Winslow were getting impatient; the pressing letters written by the latter to the Commissary, Saul, remained unanswered. After a long delay a ship laden with provisions appeared before Grand Pré; but the transports for the Acadians and the ships that were to convoy them did not come till much later. Winslow, writing to a friend at Halifax, thus describes his impressions: “I know they deserve all and more than they feel; yet, it hurts me to hear their weepings and wailings and gnashing of teeth. I am in hopes our affairs will soon put on another face, and we get transports, and I rid of the worst piece of service that ever I was in.”

At last, after four interminable weeks, seven vessels hove in sight, three of which were sent to Murray, who could not contain his joy: “Thank God!” says he, “the transports are come at last. So soon as I have shipped off my rascals, I will come down and settle matters with you, and *enjoy ourselves a little.*”

In fairness to Winslow I choose in preference those parts of his Journal which exhibit him in the most favorable light. Where facts that are positively horrible fill so large a space, one eagerly greets a semblance of humane feelings. These are so rare that one need not be squeamish. Such as they are, however, they refresh

the soul and cheer the sight like a green oasis after the burning sands of the desert. One longs for them as the diver rising to the surface longs for a breath of air. Nevertheless it is expedient to show what a vile fellow was that Murray who, for many years past, had been in charge of this district, the most populous in Acadia. His letters invariably end with a fervent wish to drink and make merry. Prebble, at least, though he never forgets the enjoyment he hopes to secure, "the good things of this world," does not forget spiritual things either, albeit he makes them a text for mockery of the Acadians' belief. Murray's mind grovels in gross pleasures alone. He is always thirsty; he is always ready to start the *nunc est bibendum*, and this thought haunts him ever. Such is the man after his own heart whom Lawrence chose to rule and exasperate this people, to prepare and execute the dark designs he had long been meditating. Think how the oppression of such a sensualist must have weighed on the Acadians, and then wonder at their unvaryingly peaceful submission to the caprices of this despot.

Winslow prepared everything for the embarkation and gave notice to the prisoners to be ready for October 8th: "Even after this warning," says he, "I could not persuade them I was in earnest."

I cannot attempt to describe the scenes that marked the embarking of the rest of the people. Winslow thus reports them in his Journal: "Began to embark the inhabitants, who went off very solentarily (*sic*) and unwillingly; the women in great distress, carrying off their children in their arms; others carrying their decrepit parents in their carts with all their goods, moving

in great confusion, and appeared a scene of woe and distress."

The four vessels with their human cargo lingered in the roadstead until the 29th of the same month (October). Meanwhile there remained yet upon the shore more than half the population who had not been able to find place on board.

Some were still hiding in the woods. In order to force them to surrender, Winslow issued the following order, which needs no comment: "If within —— days the absent ones were not delivered up, military execution would be immediately visited *upon the next of kin.*"

"In short," says Haliburton, "so operative were the terrors that surrounded them, that, of twenty-four young men who deserted from a Transport, twenty-two were glad to return of themselves, the others being shot by sentinels; and one of their friends, François Hébert, believed to have been an accessory to their escape, was carried on shore to behold the destruction of his house and effects, which were burned in his presence, as a punishment for his temerity and his perfidious aid to his comrades."

We have no written proof that acts of cruelty other than those necessitated by the very nature of the enterprise were committed by the soldiers; but, when we take into account Lawrence's instructions "to distress them as much as possible," and the hatred entertained against everything French and Catholic, when the soldiers had about full scope to act as they pleased, the experience of history is there to prove that there must have occurred scenes of cruelty more revolting than those which have been chronicled in Winslow's Journal.

It must have been to put an end to abuses of this sort that he ordered the soldiers and sailors, under pain of severe chastisements, not to absent themselves any more without leave from their quarters, "that an end may be put to distressing this distressed people."

Haliburton has supposed that the first vessels which received on October 10th their shipment of young and married men, were sent off directly. This was, indeed according to Lawrence's orders; but, for want of provisions, and perhaps also because it was thought more prudent to have the vessels accompanied by convoys, they did not set sail till the bulk of the fleet did, at the end of October. Parkman has rightly pointed out this mistake, which tended to demonstrate that the separation of families was general and intentional. True, this evil intention can be demonstrated, whatever may be the time at which the ships set sail: for I have reason to believe that the prisoners remained exactly as they were distributed on board the ships on the 10th of October and that no change was made between that date and the departure. I will give, further on, some instances referring to members of my own family, which seem to settle the question. However, I wish to correct Haliburton's mistake and to give the reader an opportunity of doubting, if he thinks he honestly can, the correctness of my opinion. There are enough horrors in this story without exaggerating the reality.

In Winslow's instructions as to the destination of the Acadians of the Mines District, we read:

To North Carolina,	so many.
To Virginia	id.
To Maryland such a number of vessels as will transport 500 per-	

sons, or in proportion, if the number to be shipped off should exceed 2,000.

Now, the total number, from Pigiguit and Grand Pré, exceeded 3,000, and perhaps 3,600. Other vessels followed the first, and the embarkation took place as they arrived, amid the same scenes of desolation and despair. Then, on October 29th, the fleet set sail.

All that vast bay, around which but lately an industrious people worked like a swarm of bees, was now deserted. In the silent villages, where the doors swung idly in the wind, nothing was heard but the tramp of soldiery and the lowing of cattle wandering anxiously around the stables as if looking for their masters.

Lawrence's orders were that all buildings be destroyed. The last ships that carried off the exiles had not yet passed the entrance to the Mines Basin, when these poor people, casting a farewell glance on their dear native land, perceived clouds of smoke rising from their own roofs. In a few moments all the shore, from Cape Blomedon to Gaspereau was in flames. This was truly an eternal farewell, the utter annihilation of whatever illusions might still have haunted their minds.*

The convoys of the fleet were: the *Nightingale*, Captain Diggs; the *Snow (Halifax)*, Captain Taggart; the armed schooner, *Warren*, Captain Adams, with the following transports:—

* Rosalie Bourc (Bourg), my great-grandmother, wife of Jean Le Prince and mother of Jean Charles Prince, bishop of St. Hyacinthe, P. Q., was then five years old. The impression caused by the burning of their habitations, when the fleet was going out of the Basin remained always vivid in her mind. She died in 1846 at the age of ninety-six. An oil portrait of her is in my possession.

From			Tons.	Men.	Additional.
Piguit, Grand Pré and Canard.	Corvette	Ranger, Capt. Piercey,...	91	182	81
	"	Doctum, " Farnham,...	87	173	56
	Schooner	Neptune, " Davis,....	90	180	27
	"	Three Friends, " Carlisle,....	89	188	18 — 856
	Corvette	Sun Flower, " Donnell,....	81	180	
	"	Hannah, " Adams,....	70	140	
	Schooner	Leopard, " Church,....	87	174	
	Corvette	" Milbury,....	98	186	
	"	Molly & Sarah, " Haslum,....	70	140	
	"	Mary, " Denny,....	90	181	
	"	Prosperous, " Bragdon,....	75	150	?
	"	Endeavour, " Stone,....	88	168	
	"	Industry, " Goodwin,....	88	172	
	"	" Puddington	80	160	1649
					2,505

This report, as well as those of other places, had disappeared from the Archives at the time when Dr. Brown was writing; this one was given him by the Secretary of the Council under Lawrence, Richard Bulkeley, who was still living in 1790. At the bottom of his report he adds :

"N. B. I have made some blunder by the loss of the principal list of those who embarked, but the number of souls that embarked on board the Transports were 2,921. How many embarked *afterwards* I know not. The remainder of the *Neutrals* remained until more Transports arrived."

By some researches I have succeeded in rectifying the list furnished by Bulkeley, with regard to the vessels that sailed from Piguit. I have added 182 for this place; my additions are to be found in the extreme right hand column of the list. To equal Bulkeley's total, 416 would have also to be added for Grand Pré. But, as, on the other hand, we know from Winslow's Journal,

that the total number deported from Pigiguit was 1,100, and that, after this first departure, there still remained more than 600 at Grand Pré, we should have to admit that the total number deported from the Mines District would be nearer 4,000 than 2,921, which is, with a variation of units only, the figure invariably given by historians.

Furthermore, Winslow's Journal, under date of November 8rd, four days after the sailing of the fleet, gives the number deported from Grand Pré as 1,510 in 9 vessels; whereas the list produced above shows 10 vessels instead of 9. Besides, Winslow adds: "I put *more* than two to a ton, and the people greatly crowded; there is more than 600 remaining in my District."

If this figure, 1,510, is correct, then there would not be quite two persons to a ton.

It is not easy to account for these discrepancies; still, as we know, from a memorial of Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, that the population of Mines Basin was, two years before, about 4,500, we may, with more likelihood, I think, estimate the total number deported from this district as between 3,600, and 4,000, and very likely nearer the former than the latter figure. The remainder must either have quitted the country during Lawrence's administration, or have run away at the time of the deportation.

According to Winslow's Journal, Murray completed his task about the end of October, having sent off 1,100 persons "*in four frightfully crowded Transports.*" This is strikingly at variance with Bulkeley's estimate, which gives the number contained in these four vessels as 674, and with my correction raising it to 856. There would still be at least 244 persons to be accounted for, so as to

equal Winslow's eleven hundred. I am inclined to think that, after the sailing of his four ships, Murray decided to add his prisoners to the shipment from Grand Pré. The two places were near each other; the departure of so many people had made the doubling of garrisons useless; and it was now more convenient to operate from one point. This would explain how it happened that his task was ended, when we know for a certainty that he still had between two and three hundred prisoners to dispose of. Murray was gasping with thirst; he was burning with desire to join Winslow and enjoy himself.

Though Winslow and Bulkeley's reports do not agree in the details, they do in the total of the first departure, which they state, respectively, as 2,921 and 2,923. Winslow says he still had 600 to deport; Bulkeley declares he knows nothing of the number embarked later on. The only doubtful point apparently is, whether or not the 600 still with Winslow comprised the 244 needed to complete Murray's 1,100. Winslow's task was not done till December 20th, when two vessels laden with 232 persons carried off the remnant of the population.

The total of deported persons at Annapolis, generally estimated at 1,654, seems to agree with what we know of the total population minus the number of those who escaped the deportation. At Cobequid (Truro) the people had been alarmed in time and had taken refuge in Prince Edward Island.

We have seen how, at Chipody and Peticodiac, Major Frye had been able only to burn the houses and arrest a few women. In the district of Beaubassin those who fell into the hands of the authorities were

the inhabitants who dwelt in the immediate neighborhood of Beauséjour. Monckton vaguely estimates their number at more than a thousand. This district contained at least 4,000 souls. The total number of Acadians deported at this time may be put down as, at least, 6,500 and, at the utmost, 7,500. We shall see later that this number was ultimately doubled, and that the deportations did not cease till after the peace of 1763.

Six hundred and eighty-six buildings, not including eleven mills and two churches, were burned at Grand Pré and at Rivière aux Canards. The families carried off from these two parishes owned, according to Winslow's estimate, 7,833 head of cattle, 493 horses, 8,690 sheep and 4,197 pigs. The total amount of live stock owned by the Acadians at the time of the deportation has been variously estimated by different historians, or, to speak more correctly, very few have paid any attention to this subject. Raynal, who cannot be considered a safe guide in this matter, goes as high as 200,000. This figure is altogether too large. Rameau, who has made a much deeper study than any other historian of the domestic history of the Acadians, sets the total at 130,000, comprising horned cattle, horses, sheep and pigs. Whoever will take the trouble to follow this author in the patient researches to which he has devoted himself for nearly forty years, cannot help assigning to his opinion on these statistical questions considerable authority. Leaving out of our calculation the few thousand Acadians who then lived in Prince Edward Island, there were, in the Peninsula and in the Beaubassin district, about 13,000 souls. Now, taking Winslow's figures, both for the population and

the live stock at Grand Pré, and applying the same proportion to the entire population of Acadia, we get the following result :

2,300 inhabitants at Grand Pré owned—

Horned cattle	7,833
Sheep	8,690
Pigs	4,197
Horses	498
	21,218

Therefore, we may not unreasonably suppose, taking as a basis Winslow's estimate at Grand Pré, that the Acadians residing in English territory at the time of the deportation, viz. :

13,000 inhabitants owned—

Horned cattle	43,500
Sheep	48,500
Pigs	23,500
Horses	2,800
	118,300

CHAPTER XXXII.

Lawrence's administration reviewed—Facts linked together showing his early design to deport the Acadians, his interested motives and his clever tactics to bring it about without endangering his ambitious projects—How he deceived the Home authorities—Repeated charges against him by Halifax people—Their truth finally admitted by the Secretary of State—His timely death saves him from disgrace.

I HAVE asserted elsewhere that Lawrence's motive for the deportation was speculation on the live stock of the Acadians. The time has now come to prove this, and I hope the proof will convince the most sceptical. It is easy to see that here was an opportunity for a fine stroke of business. But I must again remind the reader that we are indicting a man of rare skill, whose power was absolute, and over whom, practically, there was no effectual control. He had been able to arrange, far in advance, his method of operation and the way to efface all vestige of his crime. Every one knows how difficult it is, in spite of our democratic institutions, in spite of the watchfulness of representative assemblies, of the press and of special departments scientifically organized, in spite of interlacing and counter-checking responsibilities, to bring home the proofs of fraud to rulers or even to their subordinate officers. Nor is there question here of a contemporary, tangible fraud, concerning which a commission could be instituted, a tribunal chosen, witnesses called and public or private documents in-

spected. The fraud was committed 137 years ago (I wrote this in 1892). And yet I think the evidence I am going to produce would be sufficient to ensure Lawrence's condemnation by our courts of law, or, to say the least, at the bar of public opinion. The evidence is, of course, partly circumstantial; but that does not impair its strength; more than one criminal has justly expiated with his life a crime that was proved by purely circumstantial evidence.

All Lawrence's conduct, from the first day of his administration till his death, forms a chain of evidence from which not one link is missing. Frequently in criminal trials, just after proofs that seem overwhelming, justice is thrown off the scent by some incident that jars with the whole tenor of the evidence. Here we meet with nothing of the sort; all facts have the same general tendency, they all converge to one end. Let me sum up these facts. First, remember what Governor Hopson wrote to the Lords of Trade in reference to the Acadians some months before his departure: "Mr. Cornwallis can inform Your Lordship *how useful and necessary these people are to us; how impossible it is to do without them, or to replace them, even if we had other settlers to put in their places.*"

His administration inspires so much confidence that the Acadians, without solicitation, meet, deliberate and are on the point of deciding to take the unrestricted oath, when, at the last moment, an objection expressing fear of molestation by the Indians stops further proceedings; moreover, those who have quitted the Province present a petition to the Governor asking to be permitted to return. Hopson is allowed a year's leave of absence for his health; he is replaced *temporarily* by

Lawrence. So long as the latter's position as administrator and president of the council is precarious, no change is apparent; he himself opens negotiations with the Acadian refugees in French territory to invite them to return to the province. He writes to the Lords of Trade that the Acadians are "pretty quiet as to Government matters." Eight months later, speaking of the Acadian *refugees*, he feels certain that, in case of war, despite all the efforts of the French, they would not consent to bear arms against the English. Events proved that this forecast was right; but Lawrence had not then conceived his sinister project; he spoke and acted with a certain candor, if such a term can be applied to a creature like him. Hopson does not return; Lawrence succeeds him. He then conceives the project of deporting the Acadians; his whole behavior undergoes a change. He has mapped out a line of conduct which he resolutely follows. It consists, on the one hand, in representing the Acadians in a more and more unfavorable light, in molesting and persecuting them to drive them to acts of insubordination and thus provide himself with plausible pretexts; on the other, in gradually preparing the Lords of Trade to accept his project, or rather to put up with the deed when done: for he knows full well that, except under extraordinary circumstances, he will never obtain their acquiescence. He first timidly approaches the subject: "As they possess the best and largest tracts of land in the Province, it cannot be settled with any effect *while they remain*, and tho' *I would be very far* from attempting such a step without Your Lordship's approbation, yet *I cannot help* being of opinion that it would be much better, if they refuse the oath, *that they were away*."

Beyond a doubt, he already has the deportation in his mind's eye. Lawrence is not unaware that a voluntary departure would rejoice France and be very prejudicial to English interests. However, as a preparation for grave events, this declaration has its value. The ways and means are perhaps not yet clearly defined, obstacles are many and some very serious; but the project itself is fully decided on. His perfidious proposal to the Lords of Trade meets with no responsive echo; this he perhaps expected. The object he had in view—to prepare them by little and little—was attained; this was one step. An obstacle of a most formidable nature is the occupation of the isthmus and of the north shore of the Bay of Fundy by the French. As long as Fort Beauséjour remains in French hands, the deportation scheme has but very little prospect of success. What is he to do? To dislodge them, and in time of peace, is no easy matter. The traitor Pichon transmits to Captain Hussey at Fort Lawrence a letter purporting to come from General Duquesne, in which the latter advises the French Commandant at Beauséjour to find a pretext for attacking the English. Hussey, transmitting the letter to Lawrence, tells him that he has strong evidence that the Duquesne letter, so-called, is "*of Pichon's own composing*," and gives the reasons for his belief. This is exactly the opportunity sought for by Lawrence. He at once writes to Governor Shirley that "he is *well informed* of French designs to encroach upon His Majesty's rights in the Province," and to thwart them he wants 2,000 Massachusetts soldiers early in the spring. This is done; the French are taken unawares, Beauséjour capitulates, and the whole north shore of the Bay of Fundy is rid of the French.

Three hundred Acadians are found armed in the Fort. Lawrence indites a letter, in which, beneath ambiguous and well-calculated forms, he both reveals and hides to the Lords of Trade a part of his design, which was already arranged in all its details with the assistance of Morris. Then he hurries on the execution thereof. Time presses; all must be done and over before the reply of the Lords of Trade. Deeds of oppression follow one another with feverish haste. As he does not succeed in provoking disobedience, he requires the oath from the Acadian delegates without allowing them to consult with their constituents. They hesitate, then offer to take it; he will not accept it now. He imprisons them to prevent all intercourse with their countrymen and to lead the latter to believe that they have persisted in refusing the oath. He carefully provides against their making off with the live stock or resisting by force of arms. He lays hold on their archives, their boats, their priests, their principal advisers. He gets his councillors, as well as Boscawen, to endorse his project. To make its success more certain, he gives instructions to disperse his victims in places far distant from each other; he burns everything to prevent them from coming back; he dismembers families to destroy all hope of return, and to keep them engrossed with the more pressing question of finding their relatives. To make assurance doubly sure, he instructs the governors of other provinces to keep them constantly under watch. Thus the game is played; the crime is consummated. The plan was infernal in its conception, infernal in its execution; its author stopped at nothing to ensure its full success, he was a man that never said nor did a humane thing.

Lawrence never expressed any solicitude except for the preservation of the live stock. We have seen what measures he adopted to make the country inhabitable, so that fugitives could not find whereon to live. Here the question naturally presents itself: What did he do with the 120,000 head of cattle that remained at his disposal? Can he have left them without keepers, without protection, without making use of them in some way, when the fugitive Acadians would thus be enabled to live on the fat of the land, and after he had taken such pains to make it impossible for those very fugitives to live in that very land? In the case of a man of Lawrence's acuteness and astuteness the inference is evident. But, before coming to the principal heads of evidence, let us seize, by the way, on a new link in the circumstantial chain.

There was at Halifax a certain Moses de Les Derniers, whose trade was that of a peddler through the Acadian parishes. His knowledge of all that concerned the Acadians made him a precious tool for Lawrence. In the last days just before the proscription, the Governor charged him to go through the country choosing the finest horses he could find, and to send them to him without, of course, paying for them, as they were already practically sequestered. For some time past no one had been allowed to move about from parish to parish without a pass. Moses de Les Derniers received the following :

"Permit the bearer, Moses de Les Derniers, to go to Grand Pré, River Canard and Habitants, to look for some horses for the use of the Lieutenant-Governor and bring the same to the Fort.

"Fort Edward, 3rd Sept. 1755.

"The number of horses mentioned above are six.

"A MURRAY."

His second permit, allowing him to take and pass six more horses, is dated September 4th, and signed by Winslow.

"It commonly happens," says Rameau, "that petty tyrants are the more servile toward great ones in proportion as they are more ferocious toward their own victims. Murray, therefore, played the sycophant to His Excellency of Halifax, offering his services to his respectable agent; and, as Winslow was, not unnaturally, interested in this business, Murray gave him an account of his researches. Thus, at this critical moment, when the existence of a whole people was at stake, the horses of a cross-road hero engrossed the attention of the entire staff." *

On September 3rd, Murray wrote to Winslow:

"I had not found *until now* anything which to my mind could please His Excellency; but I am informed to-day that there is a black horse belonging to a man of the name of Armand Gros of Grand Pré, which, they tell me, will be a saddle-horse that will suit his taste. I therefore desire that you will have the kindness to command René Le Blanc, Jr., or some other Acadian, to take possession of it and bring it to me."

The expression "until now" shows that Murray and Winslow had long since received their orders about these twelve horses. They were waiting for the arrest of the Acadians before carrying out these orders; and, as these passes and letters bore date September 3d and 4th, whereas the arrest took place on the 5th, it is clear that all these details were calculated to the day and hour. Meanwhile, all the staff was astir to find out

* *Une Colonie Féodale en Amérique*, vol. II. p. 160.

where they could procure what would suit His Excellency.

This strange haste to take possession of the finest horses and to get up a splendid stable without cost naturally arouses suspicion. Of itself it might escape one's notice; but, when taken in connection with the instructions Monckton received to watch carefully over the preservation of the cattle and to prevent the Acadians from running away with them, instructions repeated so many times that their repetition appears otherwise idle and ridiculous, one cannot but harbor suspicions which need but fresh signs of guilt to become a certainty.

These fresh signs exist, if, indeed, a direct and formal accusation may be called merely a fresh indication of guilt, when that accusation against Lawrence is signed by the citizens of Halifax three years after the deportation in a petition addressed to some distinguished person in England. This petition was confided to Dr. Brown by those who had signed it. Brown has affixed to it this title: "*Lawrence's character*," and the purchaser of his MS. adds this remark: "A long letter (sixteen closely written pages) addressed to some one in England by the colonists concerning the state of the Province. This is a high-toned and most vigorous letter *and lays bare* with most withering scorn *the character of Governor Lawrence*." It was written in 1757, or 1758, two or three years after the deportation.

The contents of this long memorial, which we insert elsewhere, show that it was not the only document of its kind. It accuses Lawrence of exercising on the population of Halifax and of the whole province so intolerable a despotism that many persons have left the

colony; that many others also would leave, were they not hindered by orders given to the owners of ships; that no one can go beyond the town limits without a pass; that Halifax is nothing less than a prison; that Lawrence has persuaded Lord Loudon to urge in England the necessity of putting the Province under military rule and to withdraw *from the other colonies* their charters, the effect of which, they say, must be to bring on a struggle for liberty and consequences too fatal to be named.

"We had not touched upon these matters," says the petition, "but, as we think Providence more immediately seems to concern itself in discovering *the villainous arts* of the authors of our calamities, and hope will direct in pouring vengeance *on the man whose sole aim seems to have been to blast the good intentions of his country, and to make all subordinates to him miserable.* . . .

"It is with pleasure we hear *the accounts* of Nova Scotia will be strictly enquired into, *as we are very sure*, if they were sifted to the bottom, it will be found that not less than ten thousand pounds worth of rum, molasses—(of which there was not less than 80,000 gallons, which alone was worth £3,000) beef, pork, etc., etc., provisions, and much merchandise for the supply of the Indians and French inhabitants, were taken in Beauséjour, *neither distributed as a reward to the captors, nor accounted for, except some small quantity of beef, sold to the commissary M. Saul, on M. Baker's supply, which was extremely bad and decayed, and certified by Governor Lawrence, as provisions sent by Governor Shirley.*

"*That the cattle of the Acadians were converted to private use, of which we know, 3,600 hogs and near 1,000 head of cattle was killed and packed at Pigiquit alone; sent by water to other places. And what at other forts is yet a secret, all unaccounted for to the amount of a very large sum; and he and his commissary are now under great perplexity to cover this iniquitous fraud, etc., etc.*

"But we hope before this time, *many complaints* have reached the ear of the minister, and that it will shortly evidently appear that, whilst Governor Lawrence has the least influence in American affairs, *so long will ruin and confusion attend them,*

and this truth *General Shirley* at Home, and *Lord Charles Hay* when he goes home, will, as we are informed, *make evident to demonstration*; for, it is generally believed, that Lord Charles Hay's confinement *was solely due* to Governor Lawrence's insinuations to Lord Loudon, on his—Lord Hay—*examining too freely into the expenses of batteries, etc., etc.*, and speaking too contemptibly of what had been done for the mighty sums expended in Nova Scotia.”

These extracts form but a small part of the petition, and what I omit is scarcely less important.* No one, on reading the above, can escape the conviction that his oppression of the people was unbearable. And, since this was the case for English colonists, one can the better understand what I have said of Lawrence's tyranny in respect of the Acadians. This petition reveals, with great precision, his transactions, his methods of operation, his accomplices and even his anxiety to cover his frauds. The deportation had acted as a screen, allowing him to extend his operations and disguise them more effectually. Without it, he would have found it difficult to turn to his profit the immense booty that the taking of Beauséjour had exposed to his “itching palm.” With the deportation, he could seem to devote the spoils to the feeding of the Acadian captives, while in reality he had fed them partly with their own provisions. The turmoil and disorder produced by the deportation enabled him, without exposing his jobs to the indiscreet notice of his subordinates, to utilize, as we shall see later, the transports which deported the Acadians for the sale in other colonies of their cattle and of the rich Beauséjour booty. We gather likewise from this petition that he imprisoned Lord Charles Hay under false pretences, whereas the real motive of his imprison-

*See *Appendix No. 2.*

ment was the having revealed or spoken too freely of frauds committed in the erection of batteries.

As regards more particularly the Acadians, we have the positive fact that, from one place only, he sent off 3,600 pigs and nearly 1,000 head of cattle. We have in this petition, two several times, the categorical assertion that no account was rendered, first, of the Beauséjour booty, and secondly, of the Acadians' live stock except—and the exception adds great weight to the assertion—of a small quantity of beef, and, what is more, this was certified by Lawrence as coming from Governor Shirley.

Brown had been able to converse about the facts alleged in this petition with the very men who signed it, when Lawrence had been long dead and when, consequently, they had no object in deceiving him. In many other ways also could he verify these assertions; so that, when he intituled them "*Lawrence's character*," he showed that he accepted their substantial correctness. However, he has expressed himself still more clearly in the following lines :

"MS. relating to Lawrence's abuses.

"How wicked must these men be, who thus deceived their country . . . such persons, no doubt, would have been glad to see this important colony annexed to the Crown of France, that they might never be called to account *for their abuse of the trust reposed in them and their misapplication of the Nation's money.*"

The inhabitants of Halifax were so exasperated at Lawrence's oppression that they deputed one of their number, Ferdinand John Paris, to London to state their grievances. Besides the above petition, they sent him two more, one bearing date March 15th, 1757, and the other April 2d. Brown's MS. contains a fourth from

Paris himself to the Lords of Trade, dated February 4th, 1758, from which I take these short extracts :

“ That the partial, arbitrary and illegal behaviour of the present governor, of which they have continually instances. . .

“ That the many thousands of the Government's and people's money uselessly lavished on dependents and favorites, *by reduplicated salaries, and other ingenious contrivances*, is another grievous injury.

“ *The value of the cattle, hogs, taken from the Acadians*, as well as the rum, molasses, etc., etc., taken from the French, was very considerable, £20,000 at least. How it has been accounted for should be enquired.”

The Archives set forth one only trace of a legitimate use of all this live stock, viz. : when Lawrence allowed some inhabitants of Lunenburg to go and get a few head of cattle, the number thereof being estimated as between sixty and a hundred. In one of his letters to the Lords of Trade, Lawrence, very probably with a view to preparing an excuse for himself, said that he would give this live stock to those of the English colonists who could winter them, as if the remainder could not be saved from destruction, when, as the above petition shows, he had managed successfully the more difficult point of saving even the pigs. In fact he gave away just enough to serve in his own defence, if necessary. Those were, surely, words of foresight.

The first of the petitions I have quoted mentions Lawrence's efforts to persuade Lord Loudon, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America, to use his influence to the end that the colony be put under military rule. Smarting under the slight control exercised over him by a council of his own creation, and one that was apparently servile enough, Lawrence wanted to get rid of it in order to reign alone. Those

who have closely studied the history of the Province are acquainted with the many ruses set going by Lawrence to avoid the establishment of a representative assembly. The colonists were clamoring for it; the Lords of Trade imperatively demanded it. He who had dreamt of getting rid of his weak council, was far from relishing an elective assembly, to which he would be subject, and which might perhaps take it into its head to inquire about his transactions. He always had some new shift at hand to elude what the Lords of Trade more and more sternly ordered him to do :

“ Having *so often and so fully repeated* to you our sense and opinion of the propriety and necessity of this measure taking place, *it only remains for us* to direct its being carried into immediate execution.” The patience of the authorities had reached its utmost limits; another subterfuge would be his ruin; Lawrence was wise in time and yielded.

To have hoped to free himself from the control of a council composed of his creatures, whom he had cowed into silence while he publicly branded them as “ *a pack of scoundrels*,” and then to fall under the control of an Assembly representing that public opinion which he had trampled under foot, under the control of those merchants whom he had called “ *a parcel of villains and bankrupts*,” was, it must be confessed, a terrible disappointment. He had hitherto needed the help of none but the great, none but men who enjoyed some influence at Court. The “ *low cunning and consummate flattery*,” which he had successfully used with those who could be of some use to him, was no longer sufficient. The people, who had been nothing, were now become great in their turn. Thus he had reason to dread lest this Assembly should

expose his iniquities. Deep, sharp, resourceful as he was, the task was enormous ; he must propitiate and appease those whom he had crushed with scorn ; instead of the absolute power he had dreamt of, he could keep but a shred thereof, and even that he must fight for inch by inch, and, by so doing, expose himself to new dangers.

His letter to the Lords of Trade, after the election of the representatives of the people, expresses his fears : " I hope," he says, " I shall not find in them a disposition to embarrass or obstruct His Majesty's service, or to dispute the royal prerogative, though I observe, that too many of the members chosen are such as have not been the most remarkable for promoting unity or obedience to His Majesty's Government here. I hope I may be able to dispatch such business *as may be necessary for the present* without too much loss of time in rejoining the army."

This is the expedient on which his fertile mind had hit to ward off danger : he was to pretend that the urgent need of his services in the army made it imperative for the Assembly to have a session only as a matter of form, merely to vote supplies and to legalize, as it were, in the lump, those acts of his council which stood in need of that formality. To the representatives of the people, in his opening address, he said :

" As I am now necessarily employed, and will be for some time to come, upon an enterprise of importance in a distant part of the Province, there is not at present an opportunity of entering upon such particulars as might otherwise call for your attention, I am therefore earnestly to recommend the expediency or rather necessity of unanimity and dispatch in the confirmation of

such acts of a Legislative nature as the Governor and Council have found expedient before the forming of an Assembly."

Anxiety is manifest in each line ; he is earnestly begging them to do nothing, or to get quickly through the most urgent business, and then pack their trunks until next year. The Assembly was timid and inexperienced ; members had no time to come together and consult with each other ; the most expert were Lawrence's creatures, the members of his old Council ; everybody was in great glee over the new departure in the way of popular representation ; votes were rapidly recorded ; everybody went home ; the danger was past. Lawrence was delighted. Reporting to the Lords of Trade the result of the session, he said : " I have reason to hope that we shall get through with less altercation than from the seeming disposition of the people *I was apprehensive of.*"

The war between France and England had become highly interesting. Success had followed the first reverses. Louisburg, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island had been conquered ; Quebec had just capitulated ; joy was in the hearts of all, public rejoicings followed one another with a sort of glad delirium ; feelings of hatred disappeared in the enthusiasm of a common delight ; enemies became friends ; Lawrence was daily showing more suavity and sweeter smiles ; the danger was going to be averted a second time. At this exceptionally favorable moment it became an easy matter for Lawrence to put off the crisis he seemed so greatly to dread. The second session passed like the first. There is," said Lawrence to the Assembly, "*but very little requiring your attention, when your private*

avocations *but ill admit of your attendance. The most material point* that seems to call your attention, under the present circumstances of the Province is a provision for maintaining a light-house at Sambro and managing the affairs of the work-house."

Were Lawrence's arts to prevail? Was he going, by his cajolery and trickery, to consign to oblivion the humiliations he had inflicted upon the whole population? Would circumstances continue to favor him long enough to allow of his definitively escaping retribution for his crimes? It was not likely. However, the "*low cunning and consummate flattery*" that had served him in such good stead with the great, he was now bringing to bear, with as much persistence and with growing success, upon the representatives of the people. But there is another contingency which great criminals do not always keep in mind, the hour of which is unknown, though its advent is certain; it often breaks in unheralded when all the tokens of joy are at hand, and when human justice seems belated. Seized with inflammation of the lungs at a ball he was giving on the occasion, I think, of the capitulation of Montreal, he died eight days later, on the 19th of October, 1760, in the prime of life and at the zenith of his glory, some weeks before his accomplice Boscawen.

As we shall presently see, Lawrence died just in time to save his honor from investigation. He was on the point of being hurled from the Tarpeian rock, when he died on the Capitol. His friends wanted to hush up the affair to avoid a scandal, just as happens even in our day in spite of our democratic institutions, in spite of our boasted Press and civilization. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*. This the Legislature understood. To thank

him for having, by his death, relieved them of a burden, to conform to the venerable and solemn custom of erecting monuments and inditing flattering inscriptions to those who die in some high post of honor, the Assembly voted a monument to his memory, with this inscription: "From a grateful sense of his many services, his indefatigable endeavors for the public good, and a wise, upright and disinterested administration."

One discerns the hand of an accomplice in the wording of this inscription. Death was to ward off the blow that threatened more than one culprit; but, the better to ensure immunity, it was advisable to obtain the assent of the Legislature. Men being, under such circumstances, prone to indulgence and mercy, the vote was carried.

It was high time. Three months later, the Lords of Trade, naming Judge Belcher to succeed Lawrence, wrote to him as follows:—

"It has been represented to us, that Governor Lawrence had encouraged and protected the disorderly part of the military under his Government, in several outrages on the property, persons, and even *the lives of the inhabitants*; sometimes by assuming illegal powers, and at others, by abusing those which were lawfully vested in him for better purposes; by frequently interrupting the free course of justice, in discharging while under prosecution, and in enlarging after conviction, soldiers and officers guilty of destroying fences, violent assaults, and many other far greater enormities.

"Several very heavy charges have likewise been made against Governor Lawrence *with respect to contracts* which were entered into, both on account of the provisions distributed to the weak settlements of the colony, and the vessels which have so long been kept upon the establishment for the service of the Province.

(Signed)

"DUNK. HALIFAX,
"W. S. HAMILTON,
"W. SLOPER."

I was not far wrong in saying that Lawrence escaped the Tarpeian rock only by an opportune death. The meaning of this document is clear to the dullest comprehension. The Lords of Trade were convinced of his guilt; there remained but the usual legal formalities to be gone through; they had weighed all the information they had been able to collect, and, notwithstanding the manifold cares of war, they felt the time had come for action; the blow was about to fall on Lawrence and plunge him into disgrace, or perhaps inflict upon him some exemplary punishment. It is worthy of remark that this despatch contains many accusations that are not to be found in the petitions cited above; which proves that the Lords of Trade had received information from many other quarters. "*And many other far greater enormities*" implies, not only that the crimes they distinctly recited were enormous, but that those not mentioned were far more numerous and atrocious. The measure of his iniquities was full; it would soon have overflowed. Without counting his crimes, Lawrence alone had broken more laws than all the Acadians put together, during the forty-five years of English domination.

It will be remembered that, when Lawrence informed the Lords of Trade of the deportation, he especially insisted on the economy he had practised therein. He pointed out that he had chartered the transports at the very places to which the Acadians were shipped. Now, a list I have before me shows what he charged the Government for fifteen out of seventeen vessels: seven vessels are reported as taking four months to complete the voyage, and are charged so much a day for four months; three other vessels are charged so much a day

for five months; two, so much a day for six months; two more, for seven months; one for eight months. These, with the deportation itself and Lawrence's use of the Acadian cattle, are probably some of the "*several very heavy charges*" and some of the "*many far greater enormities*" to which the Lords of Trade allude. The extreme limit of the voyages these vessels made was two or three months at most. I think I am warranted in believing that Lawrence had entered into collusion with the company that furnished these vessels—Apthorp and Hancock—who had kept them at his personal service for transporting the live stock taken from the Acadians and the Beauséjour booty. Since the Lords of Trade made this a count in their indictment, they must have had proof that Lawrence had retained these vessels for a service other than that of the Government; else their ranking this among the "heavy charges" would be meaningless.

This letter of the Lords of Trade to Belcher was essentially a public document and ought therefore to be found in the archives. It is not there. It was still there, apparently, in 1787, when Brown was writing. It was no longer there in 1820, when Haliburton was preparing his History; in fact, at this latter date, there remained not a single public document of the deportation period. Listen to Haliburton:

"It is very remarkable that there are no traces of this important event (the deportation of the Acadians) to be found among the records in the Secretary's office at Halifax. I could not discover that the correspondence had been preserved, or that the Orders, Returns and Memorials had even been fyled there. In the letter book of Governor Lawrence, which is still extant, no communication to the Lords of Trade is entered from the 24th of December 1764 to the 6th of August 1766, if we except a common victualling

return. *The particulars of this affair seem to have been carefully concealed, although it is not now easy to assign the reason, unless the parties were, as in truth they well might be, ashamed of the transaction."*

Haliburton was, as I have had occasion to observe at the beginning of this work, a judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, the celebrated author of *Sam Slick*, one of the grandest and noblest characters on the historic stage of this Province, which, small as it is, has produced so many remarkable men. Nine years before, he had, in the local House, says Rameau, given vent to his indignation in this way: "*The archives of Halifax remind one of a mystery which people try to hide; and, from the little we know of them, there is reason to believe that important papers of different epochs have wholly or partially disappeared.*" *

* Rameau, who consulted the Archives of Nova Scotia in 1860, when the Compiler was preparing his volume, wrote as follows to Casgrain: "I arrived at Halifax in September; my friend, Mr. Murdoch, obtained leave for me to consult the archives of the Government, and I made an appointment for the next day. I presented myself at the appointed hour, and was shown, on a table, a number of registers and volumes; but I was forbidden to copy anything or make any extracts; and, consequently, I was refused the use of paper, pen or pencil. I was placed near a table in the middle of a large room in which eight or ten clerks were at work; I was not given a chair, so that I could not sit down, and so that none of my movements could escape the notice of the clerks.

"Such was the situation in which I was allowed to consult the archives during the ten days I spent in Halifax.

"I must say this treatment involuntarily recalled to my mind what Haliburton relates of the disappointment he himself experienced in consulting these same archives. I remarked, as he did, the gaps that exist at certain epochs in the archives, gaps which the volume published in 1869 has not filled."

"It is precisely to clear up these doubts," says Casgrain, "that I went to London, so that I might make a comparative study in the *Public Record Office* and the *British Museum*. I must state at the outset that the facility with which access is granted to these archives forms a striking contrast with the system of mistrust set up at Halifax. I must also add that I found the proof that my suspicions were only too well grounded. The volume of the Archives published at Halifax has evidently been compiled with a view to justify the deportation of the Acadians. To this end, the most compromising documents have been systematically eliminated and left in the shade. Let it be borne in mind that the Compiler of this vol-

This opinion was disputed at the time ; but, when he published his History, nine years later, Haliburton reiterated his accusation in the same way. Nobody knows with certainty whether these documents were destroyed or merely hidden away ; but a host of indications point to the conclusion that they disappeared gradually between 1756 and 1800, and that they were abstracted by the principal accomplices in the deportation and by their children. Have we not seen that Brown secured Judge Morris's famous report in the Archives and got it copied by the judge's son ? Has it not disappeared from the Archives since ? Were it not for the finding of Brown's MS., that document would have been lost forever. Have we not seen another document which Bulkeley, after his retirement from the service, showed Brown ? Why was it in Bulkeley's hands and not in the Archives ? Does not Haliburton tell us that Lawrence's Letter-book *was still extant* when he wrote, but that all the letters from 1754 to 1756, with one trifling exception, had disappeared ? Note, moreover, that since the letter-book itself was still extant, the missing letters must have been *detached* and taken away. Is not this a tangible proof of abstraction for some cause which Haliburton rightly attributed to shame ? And this letter of the Lords of Trade to Belcher immediately

ume has no right to pretend that he did not know, for he himself shows in several places that he has studied the official documents of the *Public Record Office*, in order to collate them with those of Halifax. In my turn I have collated the Halifax compilation with the originals in the *Public Record Office* in London, and I ascertained that there are considerable omissions of matters so essential as to change the whole complexion of affairs."

Philip H. Smith says on the same subject : "The deportation was conducted in so heartless a manner that, as though by common consent, the reports of details have been purposely destroyed, and historians have passed over it with only an allusion, as if unable to record the shame of the transaction."

after Lawrence's death, so important, so fatal to the theory of those who, like Parkman, strive to whitewash Lawrence and his accomplices, where was it? It was in the Archives in 1787; it was no longer there in 1820; it was not there in 1859 when Rameau wrote; nor was it there in 1865 when Murdoch composed his History, for I have too much trust in his honor to suppose him capable of ignoring it if it had been in the Archives. And was not the Compiler obliged to apply to the *Colonial Records* in London to fill some of the Halifax gaps? And why, after thus consulting the Colonial Records, has he not given a small corner of his volume to this important letter of the Lords of Trade to Belcher, dated March 3d, 1761? Will he pretend that, by a strange coincidence, its disappearance at Halifax was repeated in London? If so, then there must have been a regular plot with distant ramifications; and such a supposition is ridiculous. That document had, indeed, disappeared from the Halifax Archives; but it was really in the Colonial Records. He might have secured it with the other documents he got there; but he did not dare to produce it, not because it was unimportant but because it was too important.

To these numerous associations distinctly formulated against Lawrence, coming from the most respectable sources and covering all the branches of the public service, I will add another from Dr. Brown, which discloses what the citizens of Halifax thought of the deportation at the very time it was being carried out. In a letter which it would be very interesting to know, Lawrence had communicated to his accomplice Boscawen the anxiety he felt at the way the citizens of Halifax blamed his conduct towards the Acadians.

Brown adds the following remarks to Boscawen's answer dated Sept. 25th, 1758 :

"This letter appears to be in the handwriting of the intrepid Admiral. *The complaints of the people of Halifax, and reflections of many with respect to the Acadian removal, were the subject of disquietude with Governor Lawrence.* He communicated them to Boscawen, but '*Heart of Oak*' despised them. His feelings do not seem to have been very exquisite, when the sufferings of an enemy were investigated. His hatred of the French was too much of the old English make, a personal antipathy, an instinctive aversion."

This removes all doubt as to the opinion the people of Halifax entertained about the deportation. These animadversions must have been pretty general, and must have been manifested pretty openly before they could disquiet a man like Lawrence, who cared so little for the opinions and feelings of his subjects, so long as he was absolute master ; and it must therefore be admitted that, in the eyes of those who witnessed the "Acadian removal," that act was deemed an iniquity. For any one that takes the trouble to ponder over the full significance of this testimony, its value as corroborative evidence cannot but be recognized. Lawrence, with his well-known skill, with his retinue of sycophants interested in humoring him, could easily mould public opinion. Events seemed to favor his purpose ; the war, now carried on with spirit, kept alive those national animosities that had long been so intense ; the people, so utterly dependent on a military ruler, might hope to profit, directly or indirectly, by the spoils of the Acadians, especially by their lands. And yet all these motives, I am happy to say, could not prevail against the strong feelings and the natural rectitude of

the people. After honor has been driven from high station by the ever dangerous impulse of self-interest, it will yet be found among the people. Brown was but the echo of the popular sentiment in his time when he denounced the deportation in scathing terms.

This same Dr. Brown relates at some length an anecdote in which he himself figured, and which points clearly to the persistence of this same frame of mind in Halifax when he was writing. I briefly sum up his account: "Each time a public discussion was raised on the question of the deportation, *there was great excitement in the camp of the old servants of Lawrence's Government.* When Raynal published his work, what related to the Acadians was printed in full in one of the Halifax newspapers. Bulkeley and Judge Deschamps took alarm; the publication of this article they looked upon as a personal insult. Together they drew up a reply, which they published with great ostentation. It was handed to me by Judge Deschamps, *who thought it an unanswerable defence.*

"Later, in 1789, Messrs. Cochran and Howe founded their 'Magazine.' Not knowing the sensitiveness of the other gentlemen with regard to the deportation, they reproduced the offending passage from Raynal. Messrs. Bulkeley and Deschamps were quite as much offended at it as they had been the first time. They again determined to reply. As I had preserved the copy of the newspaper which contained their former reply, I was awakened very early in the morning by Judge Deschamps himself, who earnestly begged of me to hand him that newspaper and the other documents he had entrusted to me.

"Mr. Cochran, *whose situation did not allow of his making enemies of such influential men, resigned himself to publish Judge Deschamps' reply, adding, without entering into the merits of the question, some remarks that cast doubt upon the veracity of Raynal.*"

At the close of this anecdote Brown observes: "Although I can take upon me, *from a painful examination of the whole matter*, that Raynal neither knew, nor suspected the tenth part of the distresses of the Acadians, and that, excepting the massacre of St. Bartholemew, I know of no act equally reprehensible as the Acadian removal."

Such an expression of opinion supposes in a man of Brown's character very deep convictions. The avowal was evidently distressing: "*from a painful examination of the whole matter.*" He hints clearly enough elsewhere his conviction that the secret motive of the deportation was none other than a speculation of Lawrence's in the live stock of the Acadians. With those who seek to form a correct and impartial judgment, the opinions of this good, high-minded and sympathetic man, of this contemporary chronicler, have far more weight than those of a mere collector of interesting anecdotes like Parkman. Brown wrote soon after the deportation, when it was fully consummated, when peace and quiet reigned over America. This was a more favorable time than would have been the very moment of the deportation. Contemporary official documents are, of course, valuable; but they are often one-sided presentments by interested parties. But, as the story I have just given shows, Brown lived in familiar intercourse with the authors of the deportation; he knew all the points of their defence, which had been pleaded more than once by a judge; he had examined and weighed all the written and verbal evidence. His opinion has the force of a judicial sentence, the rather as the case was tried in the absence of the Acadians, as the decision is against the party present in court, against fellow-countrymen

and perhaps against friends whom he might wish to save from historic infamy.

We have reason to believe that, even before the deportation, when Lawrence was persecuting the Acadians, seizing their arms, imprisoning their delegates, the people of Halifax murmured against this treatment. This seems to be implied in the following order, which no doubt alludes directly to the blame brought upon him in Halifax by this persecution. The order is dated July 4th, 1755, the very day after the imprisonment of the first Acadian delegates.

“Whereas busy, ill-disposed, caballing and malicious persons, have wickedly and *with an intent of usurping power* in this Province to themselves, *invented and published false and scandalous reports reflecting on the authority and administration of Government*. . . For the more effectual prevention of such mischiefs, it is resolved by the Lieut.-Governor and Council that, if any person or persons, shall after the publication of this act . . . *presume to utter, publish and declare any insinuations or reports reflecting on the administration of the Government, the person or persons so offending shall*” . . .

After having been led astray by the evil influence which a despot always exercises over the people about him, many of the actors in this drama were apparently realizing, in Brown's time, the odiousness of their co-operation. They had been misled by Lawrence's diplomacy; they had not seen till all was done and over the motives that actuated him; in their good faith they had been deceived. In the calm of afterthought they had been able to rearrange the sequence of events and to discover the secret intrigues that had warped their judgment. It would be unfair to pass a sweeping condemnation on the intentions of these men. We may

and do reprobate the deed ; but to extend our reprobation to the intentions of all subordinate actors were presumptuous ignorance and too sweeping to be just.

Brown gives us information of inestimable value to historians, for he tells us what was the opinion of the contemporaries and witnesses of the events he describes. Nor is this the opinion of strangers who are indifferent or of adversaries who are hostile, but of the persons under Lawrence's own jurisdiction. It appears evident that the citizens of Halifax were divided into two parties on this question of the deportation : on one side, Lawrence's councillors and favorites, on whom " he had lavished the people's money by reduplicated salaries and other ingenious contrivances " as one of the petitions cited above says ; on the other, the remainder of the population, those who were groaning under Lawrence's oppression. In other words, his conduct was approved or excused by those who were interested in this approval or excuse, and blamed by those who were disinterested.

Neither is it surprising that Judge Deschamps and Bulkeley, sometime secretary of the Council, took offence, as Brown says, at all that was said or published against the deportation. Had they not received in divers ways the price of their complicity ? Parkman and some other writers have not been eager to inform the public that the complicity of Lawrence's favorites was liberally rewarded by numerous favors. We should have been interested in learning that each of the chief agents in the plot received 20,000 acres of the lands that belonged to the Acadians. I have not tried to ferret out all the details of these tempting gratuities ; but what we are told by the two principal historians of

these events may suffice. Haliburton, at page 100 of the first volume of his History of Nova Scotia, says :

"The crops of wheat which the Acadians raised were *so super-abundant*, that, for many years previous to their expulsion, they exported a great quantity to the Boston market. Although *immediately occupied* by the English, after the deportation of these unfortunate people, it underwent *no material changes until* the last twenty years (1810). The most valuable lands were *granted* to gentlemen residing at Halifax, among whom were *many of His Majesty's Council*. That portion of it which fell into the hands of resident proprietors, *was divided among a few individuals*. Thus was introduced a system of tenantry, which, in Nova Scotia, neither contributes to the improvement of the soil, nor the profit of the landlord."

If Parkman, after fifty years of study, has not been lucky enough to come across this interesting passage of the distinguished historian, he ought at least, I think to have remarked what Murdoch says at page 528, vol. II. of his History. He produces a despatch from Governor Legge to the Secretary of State, Lord Dartmouth, which mentions incidentally those grants of land Haliburton speaks of. We read that the Lords of Trade disapproved of them, and by a sort of compromise, reduced the amount from 20,000 to 5,000 acres. Some of the names of the grantees are given, among others those of Belcher, who succeeded Lawrence, and of Morris, afterward judge and the author of that remarkable memorial which I have analyzed and in which he concludes that the Acadians "*were at all events to be rooted out.*" We are not told if Lawrence had secured for himself a part of these grants ; his preference seems to have been for the live stock and other movables easily exchanged for hard cash ; but there is not the least doubt of his taking the lion's share. Ought not all these facts to have

opened Parkman's eyes to the motives of the deportation? And yet he seems, on the contrary, to have resolutely closed them to any reasonable solution of the problem, in order to mystify his readers by his shameful Pichon tricks (ses Pichonneries).

I venture to think I have kept my promise that I would prove Lawrence's interested motives. To require more direct evidence would be unreasonable. I cannot point to any commission of inquiry or to any sentence of a law court; but short of such legal formalities, nothing is wanting to his condemnation, which, as the Lords of Trade's letter to Belcher shows, was already complete as far as the Home Government was concerned, and would have been soon followed by utter disgrace, had not the grim reaper stepped in and claimed his own. It is obvious that Lawrence, notwithstanding his astuteness, had run a fearful risk when he deported the Acadians without the orders and against the expressed intentions of the Home Government. His methods, the studied concealment or the half-revealing of his purpose, the precautions with which he surrounded himself, the haste with which he pressed the execution of the job before receiving a reply to his ambiguous letters; all these and many others are signs of the deliberation with which he had played a game that might at any moment entail the ruin of his future and the loss of his honor. He was too far-seeing not to have weighed and measured this risk. Then, why did he expose himself to this awful danger, unless he cherished a hope great enough to outweigh what was now trembling in the balance? And what other hope could he have than to make a fortune out of the spoils of his victims? Any other inference would seem absurd. Even if

we had not the numerous proofs we now possess against Lawrence, we might still argue with rigorous logic in this way : Since it is absolutely certain that his councillors were rewarded for their complicity in the deportation, Lawrence, who alone ran the risk, must necessarily have rewarded himself either in lands or in live stock or in both at once. Since he was dishonest enough to let others enrich themselves by such methods, he must have been dishonest enough to feather his own nest, unless he was a fool, which he certainly was not. The bandit chief who risks his liberty and life in the perpetration of his crimes never does so without appropriating a part of the booty. This argument, taken in connection with the mass of proofs I have produced, with the many links I have welded together, completes the chain of evidence that must bind Lawrence for all time to the scourging post of history.

True, we cannot, without loathing, think that a man has been found inhuman enough to expatriate a whole people in order to enrich himself with their property. Unable to doubt his speculations in the live stock and the lands of the Acadians, we should be inclined to doubt that the spoliation was premeditated, were such a doubt possible ; but it is not. His crime is horrible, it exceeds our wildest imaginings ; but, on the other hand, we know that in all ages and in all stations of life there have been men whose crimes were so incredible as to admit of no limit save that of their power to perpetrate them. Not premeditated ! A man who never uttered a word of pity at the sight of the desolation he was causing, who gave instructions that the men should be seized and deported to certain countries, and that the

women should be seized later and deported to other countries, with special recommendations to the Governors of those countries to keep them constantly under watch, that man was quite capable of premeditating his crime with a view to spoliation. Not premeditated! The man whose oppression of his own countrymen was unbearable, who speculated in all the branches of the public service, was quite capable—were he guilty of only half the charges made against him by the people under his rule and by the Lords of Trade—of plotting the deportation as a stepping-stone to wealth. Great criminals like him are omnivorous in their greed. Not premeditated! A man who, like Lawrence, from being a poor apprentice to a house-painter, raises himself in a few years to the rank of Brigadier-General and to the dignity of governor of a province, leaves nothing to chance. At a period when promotion was almost closed to a plebeian, he must have had no ordinary talent for intriguing, his combinations must have been skilful and deliberate, his purpose well defined and all the steps thereto carefully prepared and strongly fortified. Not premeditated! Unforeseen temptations have little place in the lives of plotters and schemers; they habitually anticipate them all; they are their own tempters. Now there were, at the very lowest estimate, a hundred thousand head of live stock; what to do with them was a question that arose of itself at the outset, a difficulty that stared one in the face like the sun at high noon, it was the first question an intelligent child would have asked; and are we to believe that Lawrence, the house-painter's apprentice who had risen by sheer brain-power to the governorship, was innocent enough not to have thought out the whole problem beforehand, when he

had foreseen and regulated the smallest details of the deportation with diabolical precision? Nonsense! Everything must have been prepared and mapped out long before. Having in a few years reached a post of honor that would have dazzled a merely lucky upstart, having got there by dint of practising all the arts that serve to elevate skilful intriguers, he felt the want of wealth. He hoped shortly to be promoted to a wider sphere. With opulence he could land at a bound on the highest attainable elevation. The painter's apprentice, who had been clever enough to find out how to become governor, would surely be able to understand still better what he must do to attain a yet higher position, and, being a despot, he would do it.

Haliburton was weighing his words well when he said the disappearance of the documents could be attributed only to shame. The same motive caused the confiscation of the Acadians' archives one month before their arrest.

Another cause that may have contributed somewhat to raise in Lawrence's mind the idea of the deportation was the unprecedented and extraordinary submissiveness of the Acadians, which at any rate ensured to the execution of that crime a success that would otherwise be inexplicable.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Character sketch of Parkman—His ideas and ways—Murdoch, Haliburton, Campbell, Brown, Longfellow, the compiler—Brook Watson, Moses de les Derniers.

THIS dispersion of a people, this "*Lost Chapter in American History*," as the title of Philip H. Smith's remarkably honest work puts it, has hitherto been a riddle that has both attracted and repelled many writers. Some of them, honest and upright, incapable of conceiving the gigantic fraud at the bottom of it all, or of guessing the cause of the absence of documents, found themselves, in good faith, constrained to magnify the Acadians' faults, to suppose more than facts warranted, in order to harmonize and explain what seemed, in any other hypothesis, unexplainable and discordant. Not being in a position to penetrate the motives of Lawrence and his accomplices, they have accepted all their unproved and interested accusations. Among such writers may be ranked Murdoch, Campbell and Hannay. Others, like Haliburton, Smith, Bancroft, Rameau and Casgrain, more wary, and perhaps more perspicacious, discerned and pointed out this absence of documents; their suspicions were aroused, and their conclusion was an unequivocal condemnation of the crime. Brown is the only one who, thanks to his position, to the time and place in which he lived, has succeeded in clearing up the mystery. His manuscript, found after a long interval, is the answer to this riddle of a century.

Another writer, I regret to say, superficial and dishonest, improving on his predecessors of the first category, torturing documents already tortured and mutilated, taking no account of the judicial temper that ought to accompany the true historian, has tried his hand at every kind of subterfuge to justify what is unjustifiable. I allude, of course, to Parkman. To be frank, I believe him to be, of all writers I am acquainted with, the most subtilely one-sided, the most expert in the art of deception. His work is the first I read on the subject I am now handling, and I confess, in all humility, that he deceived me; for a long time I believed in his sincerity and took his part against those who attacked him. It was only when I went on to consult official sources and then to compare his methods, that I became firmly convinced what a thorough imposture his work is. He has reduced historical trickery to a fine art, which presents a curious, though not difficult study, of the use of language to conceal one's thoughts.

By temperament he stands midway between the historian and the novelist. He lacks the exquisite delicacy of the latter, the kindness, lofty character and love of truth necessary for the former. Not wishing to remain a mere story-teller, he preferred to rise to the level of history, for which he was in no way adapted, as he possessed none of the essential requisites of the historian. His brilliant qualities as a narrator were, however, of great assistance for transient success, and he used and misused them to the utmost. To interest and charm was his principal object, and he pursued it most successfully; on this score his merits are as great as they are unchallenged. But this exclusive quest obliged him to skip the arid tracts of history and to de-

vote himself to the unearthing of stirring tales and spicy anecdotes. Wherever he found a bauble, were it on a dunghill, he would eagerly pick it up, if he thought that, by polishing it, he could make it sparkle and attract attention.

Nevertheless, while attempting history, Parkman has remained what nature made him, a charming story-teller, and nothing more. He is always interesting, captivating, and generally plausible, owing to the skill with which he constructs a theory and to the crumbs of praise he bestows on those whom he intends to smash with a sledge-hammer. When he flatters, then is he especially dangerous. He aims at effect in everything. He seeks to please, to delight, to leave the reader in a state of at least semi-satisfaction. His turn of mind seems to be quite that of those society story-tellers, those agreeable talkers who can cap any anecdote with another more marvellous. Such men we do not despise; they sometimes possess, in a high degree, the faculty of keenly appreciating the humorous and whimsical aspects of society, the spiciness and point of a situation. We listen to them with interest; they amuse us; but we know what to think of the core of the matter, we are fully aware that the amount of truth contained in their tales bears the same proportion to the latter as a pippin does to a ripe apple. To this class of men does Parkman belong. The misfortune is that he transferred to the field of history his talent for narrative. It would be unreasonable to expect from such a man that reverence which is due to truth. He is astride his hobby, galloping after sensations, to which history lends itself but seldom. The moment he entered upon historical work, Parkman ought to have adopted a different style,

he ought to have changed his dispositions and drunk more deeply of the springs of truth. A mere society storyteller leaves no traces behind him ; no one examines into the value of his proofs ; he chooses them where he wills, or he gives none at all ; his anecdote is finished, and there is an end of it. Not so, the historian, as Parkman knew full well ; but he could not change his character, and, even if he could, he would not ; above all he was anxious to please and charm, whereas true history implies many slow and dry details.

Just follow him a little and you will see how, while attempting history, he has remained an anecdote-hunter. He cannot stick to one thing, he skips from one subject to another, from one place to another. Following the bent of his whim, he is now at Detroit, now at Port Royal, again in Europe and the next moment in the Big Horn Mountains or with the Outagamis. He comes, goes, and twists about, apparently without any definite object, always on the hunt and taking but little of what he finds. He settles down on nothing ; like the bee, he pilfers here and there, and his honey is the anecdote, the sharp saying. Everywhere he is all agog for this, on the dirt-heap as well as on the flower. When he finds it, he hugs it with delight. Should he in his erratic gyrations come across any ecclesiastic that has an off-hand way about him, and whom legend has bedecked with arabesques, what a jolly humor Parkman is in ! What a windfall he has had ! Woe to you if at such a moment you say to him : But, my dear friend, perhaps this story is not authentic, the authority on which it rests is undeserving of any trust and has been rejected by all serious writers. No, no ; he won't listen to you. Do you think he is going to lose such a spicy anecdote ?

He clings to it as the dog does to his bone. Hands off!

Though I have no other knowledge of Parkman than what I gather from his works,* yet I venture to maintain that, unless all intrinsic evidence is illusory, my estimate of his character and of the special bent of his mind is fairly accurate. He himself is never accurate. He is continually deceiving his readers as much by what he says as by what he omits to say. Were all his works submitted to a searching examination, not one page perhaps would stand scrutiny, not even the titles of some of his books. The one that treats of the dispersion of the Acadians is entitled "Montcalm and Wolfe," though it contains very little about these two men, as may be judged from the titles of most of the chapters: "Prussia and her foes;" "Siege of Havana;" "M. de Choiseul;" "The New Czar;" "Frederick of Prussia;" "George III.;" "Pitt—his character;" "Conflict for Acadia;" "Shirley;" "Loudun;" "Wm. Johnson;" "Removal of the Acadians." A veritable hotch-potch, with which the title of the book has almost nothing to do. With his nomadic instincts, his feverish restlessness, it was indeed a very difficult matter to hit upon a title suited to his works. He understood that, at this latter end of the age of electricity and rapid manufacture, if he wished to reach the mass of readers, he must fall into line with the busy public, which calls for "go," rush, new sights and sounds, frequent and varied changes of scene. This was all the easier for him because it agreed with his tastes and his irresistible need of new sensations.

* This was written before Parkman's death. Since that time I have, of course, read many panegyrics written by his admirers, which in no way alter my opinion of him.

It is evident that Parkman has conceived a downright antipathy to the Acadians. He seems to have been disgusted with hearing everywhere about him, in Longfellow's land, his countrymen pitying the fate of the Acadians. It looks as if he had long made up his mind to crush them. In conversation with his friends Parkman must have often striven to destroy the effect produced by Longfellow's poem. At first, he probably meant merely to bring back men's minds to the stern reality of fact, from which Longfellow's poetic effusions were necessarily a slight departure. But a new theory is apt to carry one too far; an ardent one-ideaed man soon loses the judicial temper; Parkman's wits were sharpened for an onslaught. Such, I firmly believe, is the true explanation of his bitterness. To realize this, we should bear in mind that Longfellow and Parkman were both residents of Boston; the one, much older, surrounded with the respect and veneration of his fellow-countrymen, his fame being largely due to the poem of *Evangeline*, was the greater glory; the other, much younger, was the lesser glory, the budding glory. Their characters were as the poles asunder: Longfellow had a great soul attuned to the noblest inspirations, taking high views of life; Parkman's tendencies were the exact opposite. He, the lesser glory, seems to have experienced feelings of jealousy in the neighborhood of the greater luminary before which all other lights paled. There runs through all that he has written about the Acadians a thread of veiled spiteful allusions to Longfellow's view. Parkman's discussions with his own friends become chapters, his theory is crystallized in print. He takes great pains to make us understand his aversion for "mediævalism," "humanitarianism," "New

England humanitarianism melting into sentimentality," "the effusive humanitarianism of to-day;" all which is intended to counteract the effect produced by his fellow-Bostonian's touching poem. Incapable of literary excellence in the same line, he thought he could create a sensation by a startling contrast. The way he girds at his great rival betrays his secret envy of him, and he strikes at him through the unfortunate Acadians just when Longfellow had disappeared from the scene.

Amid the travailing of our time toward the birth of a new social order, amid the groping about of science and modern thought, some men become so infatuated with the dominant note of progress at the moment of their entrance into life, that they cannot advance beyond that initial and narrow horizon. When Parkman began his career, men were on the threshold of that great movement toward material progress which lights up this nineteenth century. The world was absorbed in this idea. Continents covered with a network of railways and electric wires, oceans crossed by steamships, begot dreams of prodigious developments. Inventive genius was hard at work in every direction; manufactures received a marvellous impetus; the wealth of nations advanced with unexpected strides. Parkman fell in love with all that, so much so that he came to detest whatever was not precisely that; hence his contempt for the past, for *mediævalism*; hence his seeming aversion for *humanitarianism*, for all higher progress. He fastened his soul to what was the popular fad at the beginning of his conscious life; to that he still clings, albeit the world of thought has moved on. Doubtless the material progress movement was a fine field for a certain kind of enthusiasm that absorbed second-rate minds; but a

higher criticism was waiting to see its fruits and consequences. Parkman seems to share the immobility of the many men whom this movement enriched and filled with unprogressive satisfaction. He never asked himself if the wealth thus increased has been more equitably distributed, if the condition of the poor has thereby been improved as greatly as had been hoped, if the moral benefits have been at all commensurate with the material; and yet these are grave questions which men of light and leading have been studying all these years.

One can hardly entertain a doubt that material progress, which is begotten of science, which itself is begotten of creative wisdom, is a providential part of the divine plan; but, in order to its remaining so, it must be studied, analyzed, understood, made subservient to the higher interests of morality. All human progress carries with it potencies for good and evil; the general effect is what constitutes its true value; it is because the general effect is capable of being made to subserve morality that we admire progress. That outburst of progressive tendencies which is the leading feature of the present century has not yet borne its best fruits, the promise of which is as yet vague and remote. Hitherto the material aspect has absorbed most of these progressive tendencies, because the movement began with revelations of the possibilities of matter; but, after all, matter, be it ever so deftly fashioned, can be but the medium, the vehicle of the designs of Providence making for the interests of civilization and true Christianity; it can have no real value unless it produce this result. Though no one can study this great question without admitting that much has been done and that a revolution has been wrought in the world of ideas, still

it must be borne in upon the patient and thoughtful observer that the greatest results are yet far off.

In material progress itself a distinction should be drawn between merely ingenious inventions and those that have a marked influence on civilization. The greatest inventions are those that diminish distance and bring together in more friendly contact nations and individuals: for their social effect is to destroy national antipathies and prejudices, to make war more difficult, to bridge the gulf between the classes and the masses, to smooth down all kinds of asperities arising from misunderstandings between men of different nations and creeds, and to help all men toward the realizing of that brotherhood of the race which is one of the foundation-stones of Christianity. Considered as mighty auxiliaries of Christian thought, these inventions may be said to be preparing the overthrow of heathenism and the spread of true civilization in all parts of the globe, and more especially in India, Japan and China. As light expels darkness, so will the true culture introduced by these inventions gradually bring about the voluntary relinquishment of heathen forms of worship.

Christianity, while ever containing in itself the essence of all moral progress, has often had to struggle with absolutism and arbitrary power; in this environment it could not produce all the fruits it is capable of bearing. Wherever men were divided into a handful of oppressors and a mass of slaves, material progress and true moral progress had to remain at a stand-still. Liberty is the spring that sets both in motion. This is quite within the purview of that divine wisdom which presides over the destinies of the world. The oppressed multitude rises gradually, rises continually; freed from

oppression, it becomes its enemy; a wise tolerance, a spirit of justice, and a kindly feeling towards one's fellow-men, penetrate deeper and deeper into the hearts of the people; the great maxims of Christianity are more and more fully understood, no longer only by chosen groups of men, but by the common people. The God of vengeance and terror becomes still more to them the God of love and mercy. Men that were once cruel are becoming daily more humane. We have entered upon an era of that brotherly love which lies at the root of Christianity.

This is what Parkman does not seem to have realized. He stopped short at mere material progress, with a marked aversion for whatever came before or was to follow the early crystallizing of his own views. He seems to hate "humanitarianism" and "sentimentalism" just as bitterly as "mediævalism;" he involves the future as well as the past in one common hatred. He is as much behind his age as the Acadians were behind theirs, with this essential difference that the higher interests of morality were for them the mainspring of their lives, whilst Parkman is too much taken up with material progress to care as he ought for moral progress and in particular for the spread of humanizing influences.

With reference to progress men may be ranged under three heads: those who are interested in all kinds of progress, and more especially with the highest kind; those who look upon morality as everything and the rest as nothing, because they fail to notice the correlation between all things; and those for whom material progress is everything. To this last class Parkman seems to belong. He would go into ecstasies over an invention

that would reduce by thirty seconds the time needed for converting a hog into sausages. Dr. Ox's gas, which transformed slow Dutchmen into firebrands, would probably give him intense delight. He abhors the very word "mediævalism." It rings in his ears like an echo of "diabolism." He speaks of it as if, 150 or 200 years ago, the Acadians were a rare and exceptional example of it, and as if that were a sufficient reason to hold them up to public contempt and to justify their deportation. These two fads, his hatred of mediævalism, his persistent dragging in of this question in season and out of season, as if he had just made an important discovery that was to give him rank among deep thinkers, and above all his indiscriminating aversion for "humanitarian" ideas, as if, together with the platitudes this term often covers, there was not a great amount of good in any humanizing agency, show that he is still in the A B C of social science. He reminds one of a schoolboy picking his first steps through the field of knowledge. If Parkman's animus were the highest expression of our civilization, we should almost be willing to return to mediævalism, especially if we were assured of finding it associated with the rectitude and moral worth of the Acadians. But, thank heaven, in all ranks of society there are many men that love progress in all its forms, and can seize the higher aspects of our civilization, while Parkman can appreciate only the lower. They like material progress as a means to spread a lofty moral tone and those humanitarian ideas which he sneers at. Material progress, viewed in any other light, is worthless. He who fails to appreciate the humanizing influences that are the outcome of material progress and are rapidly girdling us about, must have a

very limited intellect, closed to the noblest and highest thoughts. He who hates mediævalism so intensely has a restless, superficial mind, incapable of breaking through the trammels of vulgarity. The statesman and the philosopher indulge in no such hatred: they know that all things are developed and evolved in various ways and that rapid evolution is not always the best; they study the past and the present and the hidden connection between the two, striving to deduce therefrom principles according to which they may forecast the future; they are patient, nay, indulgent; they are aware that a few years more or less are of small account in the history of mankind, and that, amid our joys and sorrows, our failures and successes, we are ever marching onward in the path of progress, which, like the asymptote of an hyperbola, is continually approaching, though it can never hope to reach perfection.

Parkman has some fellow-feeling for the Canadians of the first period in French colonization. That spirit of adventure which carried them to the great lakes, the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains had a special charm for him. He had the same feeling for the Acadians in the days of La Tour, Denys and Biencourt, when some of them were traders, forest rangers, adventurers, corsairs. Their life was neither moral nor civilized, but it was full of excitement; and what Parkman cannot stand is a humdrum, peaceful life, be it ever so moral, happy and fruitful, while the other life, which he revels in, is vicious, demoralizing, wretched and useless. "Morality! What in the world is that?" said a brilliant and flippant French writer. "Humanitarian ideas! What in the world are they?" would Parkman say. He is not more moved at the deportation and its

attendant woes than is the country bumpkin who sets the heel of his boot on an ant-hill. Whatever does not smack of the feverish activity of to-day deserves none of his sympathy. Those simple and ignorant Acadians have no claim on his pity; they may have been moral, very moral indeed; but they were too fond of their nationality, their customs, their language. Morbid sentimentality! They should have put all that rubbish behind them to fuse themselves with their masters into a homogeneous mass. Ignorant, backward people like them ought to make way for others. He speaks frequently of "hard facts;" which, being interpreted, signifies: Down with every obstacle, never mind how! Lawrence's audacity has particularly captivated Parkman: "He was resolute, unbending; his energetic will was not apt to relent under the softer sentiments." "*The effusive humanitarianism of to-day had no part in him.*" Well done, Lawrence!

Parkman may have deemed himself safe from the severe judgments of his contemporaries; but impunity is not eternal; a nemesis awaits the historian not less surely than it brands the facts he relates. Sooner or later comes the hour of retribution; and if the public are indulgent to eccentricities of mind and errors of judgment, they have no mercy for dishonesty. Then will he be judged by his own "hard facts."

Parkman, in his "Montcalm and Wolfe," speaks of the ecclesiastical tutelage over the French-Canadians, which "aids the tamer virtues" that "need the presence of a *sentinel* to keep them from escaping, but" which "is fatal to mental robustness and moral courage." This sounds well indeed. I do not wish to dispute anything of Parkman's where diversity of opinion is permissible,

or where his guilt does not go beyond mere exaggeration ; but how beautiful are the "mental robustness and moral courage" of those he so much admires, of Lawrence, of Shirley and of himself ! Friend Parkman, "if that can be called a virtue which needs the constant presence of a *sentinel* to keep it from escaping," I thank thee, as Gratiano thanked Shylock, for teaching me that word. Aye, if an historian needs a sentinel to watch him lest he escape beyond the pale of truth, can his tamer virtues of graphic word-painting and crisp narrative be called virtues at all ? Here have I been standing sentinel over you, or rather dogging your steps, and I have found you escaping, whenever you thought you safely could, from the precincts of truth ! Is this what you understand by mental robustness and moral courage ?

Very different is the temper of Brown, Haliburton and Murdoch. Kindness, rectitude and love of truth are their chief characteristics. They are not, nor do they seem to wish to be thought, charming story-tellers ; evidently their only ambition is to get at the truth and set it forth without artifice, with simplicity and candor. Haliburton proved elsewhere that he had all the gifts of fancy needed for a good story ; but here he confines himself to a simple narrative of events. For him history is not a series of disjointed and highly spiced pen-pictures, nor a swallow's flight dipping here and there athwart two continents ; it is a labor of deep thought and great patience wherein the dry bones of uninteresting facts underlie the more pleasing features of thrilling adventure and clever sayings. As we see that he is no dissembler, we read him without distrust ; we feel that we have in him a safe guide, a man of lofty and per-

spicacious mind who collects his facts, analyzes them and states them frankly, while his documents are handled with perfect order and sequence.

Murdoch belongs to the same school; but he had not the same firm grasp of facts as Haliburton, and therefore fell short of perfection as an historian. In moral worth, as is transparently clear from his writings alone, he is second to none; it would be difficult to conceive of a man with more winsome gifts; but some of those very gifts, when applied to history, became defects. Thus his extreme indulgence and good-nature led him into excusing everything, into seeing good actions or at least good intentions everywhere. Seldom does he attempt censure, and, when he reluctantly does, he seeks to lessen the weight of his charges by all the excuses which his gentle and kindly nature can suggest. Sometimes he goes so far as to be ingeniously apologetic. For instance, after exhibiting Armstrong as an odious tyrant and frankly proving this by all relevant documents, he palliates his conduct on the score of pecuniary losses which had occurred twelve or fifteen years before his suicide. Generally speaking, however, he prefers to be silent about defects and faults, and hazards an opinion only on good qualities or indifferent actions which may be construed as good or bad according to circumstances. Of the expulsion he merely says:

“In the expulsion itself he—Lawrence—was deeply engaged, and the praise or blame of it—perhaps both—belong largely to him. He was a man inflexible in his purposes, and held control in no feeble hands. Earnest and resolute, he pursued the object of establishing and confirming British authority here with marked success. He won the respect and confidence as well of the authorities in England as of the settlers in this country.”

He has not a word to say against the Acadians, whose virtues he admires, while commiserating their sad lot :

“In the melancholy fate of the Acadians, removed by force, scattered in strange lands, among an uncongenial people, the retrospect is anything but agreeable. While we see plainly that England could never really control this province while they remained in it, all our feelings of humanity are affected by the removal, and still more by the severity of the attendant circumstances. Sent to the other colonies without any previous consent on their part to receive them, and with little or no provision made for their support when they arrived there, scattered among communities to whom their religious worship was odious, and deprived of all their property, it is not to be wondered at that the poet and the novelist have made capital of their sufferings. It is, however, some consolation to know, that many of the exiles returned to their native land, and, though not restored to their original farms, they became an integral and respected portion of our population, displaying under all changes those simple virtues that they had inherited; the same modest, humble and peaceable dispositions that had been their early attributes.”

It is impossible to withhold one's esteem from such a man, whose shortcomings were but an exaggeration of his virtues. He is so scrupulously honest as to inform us that one of Lawrence's councillors was an ancestor of his, as if he thought himself obliged to make this avowal, in order that the public might make allowance for his involuntary bias. And yet, notwithstanding the unlimited respect I entertain for him, I cannot help observing that this excessive indulgence for everything and everybody often warps his judgment of facts, which are thus necessarily distorted. Murdoch lacked the sagacious acumen of Brown and Haliburton; these latter had all the kindliness that is expected of an historian, while at the same time they were possessed of that dauntless spirit which affronts all obstacles, that

constancy which, having once undertaken to sift a question, goes thoroughly into all its intricacies and entanglements and throws into relief responsibilities, intentions and ultimate results. Murdoch, on the contrary, trips rapidly over the deportation, as if he felt himself unequal to the disentangling of such a skein of schemes, or as if his sensitive nature winced at the sight of such shocking ruthlessness. Besides, he had not the opportunities Parkman so egregiously misused, for he wrote before the publication of the Archives and the discovery of Brown's manuscript. The latter, more especially, would have greatly enlightened him as to Lawrence's character and the motives of the deportation. At any rate this much should be said of Murdoch, that he distorts nothing that he has learnt, and still less does he resort to any subterfuge to disguise the truth. Though his History is a mere journal of events, it will remain and increase in value, whereas Parkman, with all his witchery of style and wealth of anecdote, will be more and more discredited in proportion as his statements are more carefully dissected.

However, with all his ingenuousness, Murdoch could not write a truthful history of these events by making a mere summary of the documents that were left.* The course I have adopted may look like special pleading, but it is the only one available to reach a satisfactory conclusion, and it is, moreover, the only one to be followed by those who would differ from me. When a crime is committed, almost all the evidence must have the same drift, if the true culprit stands for judgment.

*Although too severe, Campbell, in his History of the County of Yarmouth, is in the right direction when he styles Murdoch's History "*a valuable repository of facts for some future historian.*"

So it is here, and this explains what appears to be special pleading. If I could possibly be wrong as to the motives of the deportation and Lawrence's guilt, then, of course, much of what I have said would fall at the same time. The exceptional circumstances of the case forced me to examine carefully, in all their bearings, the documents I have produced, and to detect, by close comparison and analysis, the hidden connection between apparently isolated events ; no other course is open to a man who tackles a period of history that is so poor in documentary evidence. If the most impartial of men were to confine himself to a mere summary of the documents that have escaped destruction, he would be guilty of grave injustice and would put before the public a work that would lack the very semblance of history. Still more would this be the result, if he restricted himself to the volume of the Archives, which, as I have superabundantly proved, is but the one-sided and mutilated collection of the documents for the defence, made after the counsel for the defence had expunged with the greatest care from its own documents whatever could throw light on the difficulties of the case. It is the volume of the Archives which, in the guise of mere materials for history, is pre-eminently a record of special pleadings. What, then, should be thought of those writers, happily few in number, who, not content with confining themselves to this one-sided and dishonest record, cull therefrom only such passages as may seem to support their extreme views ? Even if that record were un mutilated, it would represent, after all, only the version of Lawrence and the authorities, and little or nothing of the Acadian view ; but, imperfect as it is in itself, mutilated by Lawrence and his accomplices,

mutilated again by the Compiler, what becomes of it when it is mutilated a third time and unsparingly by Parkman?

In order the better to understand how unfair it would be to write the history of this province with these garbled documents, and even with the Archives if complete, it is necessary to recall to mind the malversations with which Lawrence is charged, the tyranny he exercised over the English colonists of Halifax and the humiliations he heaped upon them, as their petitions show. Of all this what do the official documents say? Nothing, absolutely nothing. And the reason is plain. Lawrence, whose immediate rule was uncontrolled, would surely not insert in state papers the complaints of the people against himself, and still less would he transmit them to the Lords of Trade. All these important facts were unknown to the public for more than a century, and, without Brown's manuscript, would be still unknown. There is, it is true, one official paper that could throw much light on the tyranny and malversations of Lawrence, I mean the letter the Lords of Trade wrote to Belcher on March 3d, 1761, which I have given; but the time-serving Compiler has simply suppressed it.

When first I became aware of the Compiler's systematic omissions, I purposed consulting all the originals of the documents that appear in the volume of the Archives, collating the two texts and restoring the expunged portions. But I soon acquired sufficient experience to understand quite well the meaning of those asterisks staring at me up and down the compilation. Whenever I found elsewhere the missing passages indicated by those asterisks, these passages invariably proved to be more interesting than that part of the

documents which the Compiler chose to produce, and they always tended to weaken or ruin the pretensions which he thus put forward as exclusive of all others. Ere long I had collected more than enough instances of his deliberate system of mutilation to convince the public, and, from that moment, the inductive process being satisfactorily conclusive, the task of completely restoring all the omitted passages became useless. Doubtless, further research would have led to many curious discoveries; but the chronicling of them all would have overloaded my work with repetitions *ad nauseam* of the same tricks. Of course, if my proofs be challenged, I will pursue the restitution of the missing passages; for, far from dreading, I invite criticism; but I feel confident that any such provocation could only prepare fresh humiliations for the Compiler.

His usual practice is to take from the correspondence of the Governors those passages only which seem unfavorable to the Acadians; the omitted portions are either indicated by asterisks or not indicated at all. Their replies, those of their priests or of the French Governors of Cape Breton, are almost invariably omitted. And what are the grievances of the English Governors? When specific, they mostly refer to delay in answering gubernatorial communications, to passive resistance when it was enjoined upon them to take an unrestricted oath, to efforts and negotiations with a view to substituting therefor a compromise. Surely, there is not much here to complain of, especially if we bear in mind the utter powerlessness of the English Governors to enforce their will, with a handful of soldiers, upon so large and sturdy and scattered a population. And yet, because certain parts of this volume contain only such

documents as recite these grievances, and because these grievances are intensified by the stiffness of military language, the careless or prejudiced reader is prone to draw inferences unfavorable to the Acadians. Seldom does the ordinary reader take the trouble of comparing dates; he takes the documents as they come, in the order in which he finds them, without noticing the time that intervenes between them. This document follows that one; therefore, he infers, they are closely connected in point of time; yet it happens occasionally that long periods are skipped without the insertion of a single despatch from the Lords of Trade or the Governors. For example, during the three years that preceded Armstrong's suicide, when he had almost lost his head and was too absorbed in his quarrels with his Council and the people about him to pay any attention to the Acadians, there is a complete blank in the volume of the Archives.

The Compiler is less exclusive and more generous in that part of his volume which relates to the foundation and growth of Halifax, though here also the gaps are wide and important. Generally, he avoids whatever points to a spirit of insubordination or to a moral condition inferior to that of the Acadians; but, on the whole, he is more circumstantial: though he inserts none of the colonists' complaints, he gives us glimpses of their daily occupations, of their disappointments and their quarrels, for they are far from being a happy family. Military rule, to which the Acadians had cheerfully submitted for forty years, seems a grievous burden to the Halifax colonists, though it was purposely lightened for them. Without in the least degree wishing to depreciate these early colonists, we quite under-

stand how, among these recruits from anywhere and everywhere, there must have been worthless men, just as there must have been scamps among the Acadians in De la Tour's time. Certain extraordinary facts confirm this very natural inference, and indicate no very high degree of morality. Six months after the foundation of Halifax, when already twenty-nine licenses had been granted for the sale of spirituous liquors, forty persons were arraigned before the grand jury for selling liquor without license; and note that this occurred after the Government had distributed ten thousand gallons of rum between July and December. Moreover the officers of Annapolis, at most a dozen, had consumed three thousand gallons of the same in a space of time which cannot have exceeded a twelvemonth.*

Haliburton cites a strange specimen of Halifax manners:

"We may," he says, "form some opinion of the state of public morals at that time, from an extraordinary order of Governor Cornwallis, which, *after reciting* that the dead were attended to the grave by neither relatives, friends or neighbors, and that it was even difficult to procure the assistance of carriers, directed the justices of the peace, upon the death of a settler, to summon twelve persons from the vicinity of the deceased's last place of abode, to attend his funeral, and carry his corpse to the grave; and as a penalty for not complying with the orders, directions were given to strike out the name of every delinquent from the mess books of the place, etc. etc."

* Ten years later, in May, 1760, the Hon. Alexander Grant, member of the Executive Council, writing from Halifax to the Rev. Ezra Stiles of Boston, says: "The inhabitants may be about 3,000; one-third Irish, one-fourth German or Dutch, the most useful and industrious settlers among us, and the rest English, with a very small number of Scotch."

"We have upwards of 100 licensed houses, and perhaps as many more which retail spirituous liquors without license; so that the business of one-half the town is to sell rum, and the other half to drink it. You may, from this single circumstance, judge of our morals, and naturally infer that we are not enthusiastic in religion."

The Compiler reproduces only the latter part of this order; he omits the reasons why it was issued; so that one would think it was merely a preventive command against the possibility of such an offence, whereas it was the very prevalence of the offence that elicited the order. This is precisely one of Parkman's favorite receipts: Cut a quotation in two and drop out the peccant part; excellent advice, indeed, for a surgeon, but scarcely suited to the historian.

The Lords of Trade in a reply, dated October 10th, 1749, to three letters of Cornwallis, refer to the contents of the latter, and, among other things, to the irregularity and the indolence of the Halifax colonists. Now, on consulting these three letters as found in the volume of the Archives, we discover that there is no mention of irregularity or indolence; only, in one of the letters we see asterisks, which probably indicate the passage containing the obnoxious complaints. Quite otherwise would the Compiler have acted had complaints been made against the Acadians. In the chapter on the Founding of Halifax he repeats all the strictures on the Acadians which he had already complacently inserted in the chapter on "Acadian French," and this is the only instance of such repetition. This creates the impression that what is merely a rehash of previous fault-finding is really something new, and thus strengthens the brief he holds against the Acadians. One would think that he had borrowed Parkman's method of multiplying by dividing, were it not that the Compiler's book appeared before Parkman's. They both understand each other like pickpockets in a crowd.

Not satisfied with introducing the letters of the traitor Pichon into a collection of official papers, the

Compiler finds means to insert a letter that was utterly foreign to the legitimate object of his compilation, a letter from two French officers of Quebec, Hocquart and Beauharnais, to the French Minister in Paris, the Count de Maurepas. The motive of this insertion is three or four lines of this letter that present the Acadians in an unfavorable light. Had these officers any correct information or personal acquaintance with the Acadians? Neither seems likely. They may have visited Louisburg, but, certainly, they never entered Acadia, for no French officers would have been allowed there. Their strictures on the Acadians, though inapplicable to those who lived on their own farms in the Peninsula, may very well apply to those of mixed blood who were scattered everywhere and whom they may have met on the shores of Cape Breton Island. What these officers say is that the houses of the Acadians "were wretched wooden boxes, without conveniences and without ornaments," and that they were "covetous of specie." As to the first count of this indictment, many passages of the Archives agree with the chronicles of the period in representing the Acadians as living in plenty, and dwelling in roomy and comfortable houses; but, because the Compiler has inserted this letter in his volume, it is copied by several writers; which proves that the end he had in view—to prepare an arsenal of weapons against the Acadians—has been attained. Nevertheless, it is evident that these officers were not in a position to form an enlightened opinion; and if all the *obiter dicta* of thoughtless tourists must be treasured up, history would be a caricature. Even if these officers spoke from actual experience, what they said would apply equally well to some Anglo-Americans or Canadians, in

fact, to all new colonies. Then, again, an opinion of this kind depends for its value on the point of view, the circumstances of time, place and persons. To these gay gallants, enervated perhaps by the splendors of the court, setting foot for the first time on American soil, strangers to the simple and rude life of the husbandman and the colonist, the dwellings of the Acadians, if indeed they ever saw them, must have appeared very humble. The Acadians had no skilled architects, no upholsterers; rich brocades, many-colored hangings, valuable paintings were wanting in their rustic homes; no doubt, as we may well believe, their houses were "without ornaments." As to their being "covetous of specie," they were neither more nor less so than are all the peasants of the world, who live by the sweat of their brow and not on capital accumulated by the labors of other men.

The gentle and peaceful manners of the Acadians are admitted by all historians. They are acknowledged to have been an industrious people, living in plenty notwithstanding the forced subdivision of their lands. Their morals are admitted to have been excellent; there was as much harmony among them as it is possible to expect in this world; their differences were settled amicably; the poor were very rare and were eagerly assisted by the community. To be sure, there must be one discordant voice in this harmonious concert of historians anent Acadia, the voice of Francis Parkman. Were the human race divided into two categories, the admirers of goodness and the fault-finders, or, in other words, the good-natured and the crabbed, Parkman would rank high among the latter. This mania for censure, if not restrained, necessarily drags its victims

into partiality, and sometimes into downright dishonesty. The field for fault-finding is illimitable; nothing is easier than to give an unfavorable color to the most innocent actions. Men are to be found who will blame whatever you do, even if you cannot help doing it. Listen to one of these. "They were," says Parkman, "a very simple and ignorant peasantry, industrious and frugal till *evil days came to discourage them.*"

Of course the Acadians were "discouraged" on the shores of New England; but if Parkman had had a spark of humanity, he would have readily understood that no other frame of mind was possible in their then desperate condition. Did he expect them to become colonists in the places whither they had been exiled? Of what use would lands have been to sundered families, whose scattered members bemoaned their separation, and, owing to Lawrence's injunctions, had not, during eight years, until the peace of 1763, the sad privilege of searching for each other, if so be they might meet again? Was there any hope of making steady colonists, attached to the land of their exile, out of people who had been reduced to a state of mind that was worse than death; robbed of all their possessions; snatched from the lap of plenty and their smiling homes to become beggars among men that abhorred their language and their faith and often sneered at them and treated them with scorn? Parkman can talk glibly about the "evil days that came to discourage them," because he does not put himself in their place. Being good-hearted people, so simple and so unsophisticated, nothing was left for them, bereaved as they were, but discouragement.

Their very simplicity and ignorance, joined to their

love of hard work and those high moral qualities witnessed to by Parkman's fellow-countrymen, acted as a powerful magnet, winning for them in their misfortunes the sympathy of many distinguished writers. The man of generous instincts does not shrink from his oppressed brother, still less does he visit him with scorn because he is simple and ignorant. It is precisely this simple rectitude that afforded a covetous despot the opportunity to reduce them to beggary, so that he might fatten on the fruits of their toil.

Tillage and the raising of live stock were their chief occupations. Parkman seems to reproach them for having "little spirit of adventure." But, surely, their preference for agricultural pursuits shows a higher civilization than that of the roving hunter, trapper and fisherman. Very likely, had they been what Parkman reproaches them with not being, he would have had still harder things to say against them. We see, by Winslow's statistical table, that each family in the Mines District had, on an average, 23 head of horned cattle, 30 sheep and 14 pigs. This would be a large average in our own day and must have been proportionably greater then, since it represented the slow increase of a few head of cattle brought into the country 75 years before. It took fifty years of continuous occupation of the lands of the Acadians after the dispersion to bring the total of the British settlers in the Mines Basin up to the total of the Acadians when they were driven out, notwithstanding the fact that the British settlers began in greater numbers than were the original Acadian settlers and took possession of lands already tilled, whereas the beginnings of the Acadians had been most arduous owing to the forests they had to clear

and the marshes they had to drain. Though the successors of the Acadians set great store by the diked lands and were able to use a part of the diking constructed by the Acadians, yet the area enclosed by dikes diminished greatly in the hands of the British settlers.* When in 1765 the new colonists wished to reconstruct or repair these dikes, they applied to Governor Belcher for permission to employ Acadians at the expense of the Government, although they themselves had had the advantage of occupying cleared lands.†

True, the Acadians were simple and ignorant; but at that time most peasants in Europe, and hardly less so in England, were ignorant. It would be unfair not to take into account their altogether exceptional situation. The 175 families that were left as colonists in what was then an out-of-the-way place remained just as isolated under French dominion as they afterwards were under British rule. When we consider that, in such an environment, the need of education was but slightly felt, and the desire, born of that need, was dulled in course of time by the obstacles that stood in the way of its gratification, their ignorance is not surprising. But, were it as inexcusable and as com-

* See *Haliburton, Hist. of Nova Scotia.*

† The memorial of the inhabitants of King County, etc., etc., "That the Acadians who have hitherto been stationed in this County have been of great use as laborers in assisting the carrying on our business in Agriculture and improvements in general, but particularly in the repairing and making of dykes, a work which they are accustomed to, and experienced in, and we find that without their further assistance many of us cannot continue our improvements, nor plough, nor sow our lands, nor finish the dyking still required to secure them from salt water, and being convinced from experience that unless those dyke lands are inclosed we cannot with certainty raise bread for our subsistence.

"John Burbidge, Samuel Willoughby, Handly Chipman, Elisha Lathrop, Nathan de Wolf, Robert Dennison, *Judge Deschamps*, *Moses de les Derniers*, W. Yonge, Henry Denson, Joseph Wilson, Joseph Baly, Benj. Sanford. In behalf of the inhabitants of Cornwallis, Horton, Windsor, Falmouth and New Port."

plete as Parkman so often insinuates, that would not be a reason to treat them with scorn or to refuse them the sympathy that misfortune elicits, especially when that misfortune is undeserved.

The complacency with which he is continually harping on their ignorance and simplicity in connection with their woes, as if their ignorance and simplicity could excuse or attenuate the crime of their oppressors, is, to put it mildly, strangely out of season. In point of fact, we know, from their petitions, that one-fourth and sometimes one-third of the names are signed by the petitioners; which is far from implying such utter illiteracy as Parkman hints at.

"Raynal, *who never saw the Acadians*," says Parkman, "has made an ideal picture of them, since copied and improved in prose and verse, till Acadia has become Arcadia. This humble society had its disturbing elements, for the Acadians, like the Canadians, were a litigious race and neighbors often quarrelled about their boundaries. Nor were they without a bountiful share of jealousy, gossip, and backbiting to relieve the monotony of their lives."

Parkman has a horror of monotony. It would, indeed, have been monotonous to stick to commonly received opinions; he thought he ran no great risk in supposing a different state of things. It is quite true that Raynal had never seen any Acadians except those who took refuge in France; his views were based on hearsay and common report; this was much, though too little to ensure absolute precision; but does not the same reproach apply with still greater force to Parkman, who is so positive, though he has no known evidence at all to back him? No doubt, he was at liberty

to suppose that the state of society described by Raynal and by so many others was an ideal picture incompatible with human frailty; hence came the dark colors his imagination added to the picture; he may have thought that in doing so he could not be far wrong, and indeed I myself am inclined to think Raynal's lights needed some shading; but what I complain of is that Parkman is inventively positive without proof, and that the unfortunate bent of his mind and heart have led to the limning of a picture more imaginary than that of Raynal. Here again we must observe what an important factor their situation was; it made possible a state of things that under other circumstances would have been impossible. The original population was less motley than in other colonies; they were all sons of husbandmen or husbandmen themselves. Three-fourths of this little nation were descended from the 47 heads of families that settled in the country a century before their dispersion; they were all related or connected by marriage; their fertile lands furnished in abundance all that could satisfy their simple wants. Left to themselves, they were self-supporting and locally self-governed, dispensing with courts of justice, policemen and bailiffs, regulating the public business of each parish in common, settling their disputes by arbitration. In the entire volume of the Archives we find not a single instance of dissidence among themselves when meeting for concerted action, not an instance of an Acadian arraigned for murder, theft, assault or indecency; these things are not so much as mentioned. This astonishing fact is, of course, attributable to their exceptional situation. Any reasonable explanation of it is admissible; but the fact is beyond a doubt. Considering that mor-

ality is not an unimportant matter, should their priests have had something to do with these splendid results, it is, perhaps, not asking too much if we bespeak an indulgent view of the authority they so successfully exercised. Had the people freed themselves in a greater degree from this control, which Parkman considers so fatal to mental robustness, what they might have gained in independence, in initiative, in material progress, they would probably have lost in moral worth, thrift, trustworthiness and contentment. I am as great an admirer as Parkman is of the conquests of the human intellect, of the soul's upward strivings, I believe in a constant and beneficent evolution of Christian nations along lines marked out by Providence ; yet, if in reading the records of the past, I meet with an infant nation happy and prosperous, enjoying a somewhat primitive but very virtuous fellowship, and all impregnated with the true Christian spirit, I do not stop to reflect on the narrow limits of their mental horizon, on the greater or less control exercised by some of their leaders, on the doubtful benefits of a revolution in their ideas ; I am satisfied with admiring what I behold, without mental reservation and without expressing any wish for other scenes ; I leave to time the slow process of evolution, feeling convinced that virtue is after all the most abiding and precious of blessings.

Parkman could not fail to reproduce the opinion of the two French officers which has found its way into the volume of Archives and is mentioned above ; but he does so in his usual misleading way : "*French officials*," he says, "described their dwellings as wretched wooden boxes, without ornaments or conveniences, and scarcely supplied with furniture. Two or more families

often occupied the same house; and their way of life, though simple and virtuous, was by no means remarkable for cleanliness."

The inverted commas are mine; there are none in Parkman's quotation. Where do the words of the "French officials" end? We cannot tell. The reader will be inclined to think that the whole passage is borrowed verbatim from them, while in reality the latter half is either evolved from Parkman's imagination or based on something he alone has unearthed nobody knows where.

Let us examine more closely, in this short quotation, Parkman's favorite method: for this is a typical instance and will serve to throw light on many similar passages. What authority had he to go by? Two French officers, and perhaps only one, since a letter signed by two persons is written by one alone, and the silent partner is not likely to object to assertions that seem to him unimportant and of which perhaps he has no personal knowledge. Moreover, these two officers resided at Quebec, and, as far as I have been able to ascertain by special researches, never set foot in Louisburg or Beauséjour. Consequently, Parkman's proof, besides being grounded on one of those sweeping assertions that are always so dangerous, is pretty nearly worthless. How, then, is he going to give it weight? By two easy dodges, the first of which is, without mentioning the names of these officers, to use a term, "French officials," which has the advantage of conveying a specific as well as a generic meaning: specific, in that it suggests, not officers travelling among natives whom they did not know, but officers on duty in the neighborhood of the Acadians, either on Cape Breton Island or at

Beauséjour; generic, in that it suggests, not one or two, but an indefinite number, say, five, twenty or perhaps all the French officials in the country. The second dodge, which is one that he often adopts, consists in tacking on to the quotation other graver charges founded on no known proof, and then in making these additions pass for part of the quotation by omitting all quotation marks. Out of next to nothing he thus constructs an apparently strong piece of evidence.

If I insist so much on the basis of Parkman's charges, it is not because of their intrinsic importance, which is inconsiderable, but because of that which they borrow from the high position he has fraudulently won. Though it is a thankless task, yet the moment one has set his face against disgust, like a surgeon about to operate, the process of following him in his shifts and twists becomes really interesting. But one cannot help reflecting all the time that a writer who lowers himself to such petty arts and works like a mole underground, is incapable of rising to the higher strata of thought. Nor is there any unkindness in trying to unmask a cheat for the sake of truth. The enterprise is useful, nay, necessary. My object is to point out the methods of this literary malefactor, in the hope that others may pursue investigation further. I have confined myself to the ninety pages that refer to Acadia, and even here I have only reviewed the most obvious points. As these ninety pages do not constitute a thirtieth part of Parkman's works, there must remain a perfect mine of Pichon-tricks (Pichonneries) to unearth; for he who has formed the habit of fraud will use it as often as it suits him. It is only the first steps in this downward path that make a man hesitate.

"Not remarkable for cleanliness." I had always thought they *were* remarkable for cleanliness; and I have had much better opportunities than Parkman for forming an opinion. I have known at least two generations of Acadians before my time, and the oldest members of the Acadian community in which my early years were spent had inherited their habits of cleanliness directly from the victims of the deportation. Besides, the descriptions I will quote further on of Acadian homes lay stress upon their orderliness and tidiness, two qualities which are inseparable from cleanliness. This last assertion of Parkman's, forming part, as it does, of that sentence which he has tacked on to the original words of the two French officers, seems to me a pure fabrication intended to cast a slur upon a whole people.

Were I to follow his example, I could paint in sombre colors the Anglo-American soldiers of that period, without leaving the limits of Nova Scotia. Parkman must be aware of the opinions held anent them by Admiral Knowles, Governor of Louisburg. "All those I found here," he writes to the *Secretary of State*, "from the generals down to the corporals, were sellers of rum. The soldiers are lazy, dirty, obstinate; I rejoice at getting rid of them, and I pity Warren who had to deal with them."

The militiamen here referred to belonged, if I mistake not, to an expedition undertaken as a religious crusade against popery; they were the pick of the colony of Massachusetts. If, starting from this deliberate statement of an admiral to so distinguished a person as the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State and Head of the British Government, I should infer

the uncleanness and degradation of these militiamen and, constructively, of the entire population of New England, I should be doing exactly what Parkman has done in reference to the Acadians, with this striking difference, however, that I should not be drawing on my imagination nor relying upon the casual remark of persons without either knowledge or authority. But, as I am writing with no intention of throwing mud at any one, I do not hesitate to say, before examining the facts, before weighing the motives or the personal worth of this admiral, that his charges, distinct and definite as they are, produce very little impression upon me. I am inclined to think he wrote thus out of spleen or vexation, because he was angry at the independent ways of the American militia. Parkman, who, in his excursions across the continent, has picked up so many things, has not, to the best of my knowledge, noticed this one.

Raynal's work was known to Haliburton as well as to Parkman ; but the Nova Scotia Chief Justice had the further advantage of living near the Acadians. When he wrote his History, 75 years after the dispersion, the Acadians whom he was acquainted with no longer enjoyed the competence of the olden time. Their struggle for existence was painful. Tolerated on lands of inferior quality, they engaged in the fisheries or the coasting-trade. Their present mode of life was not so favorable as had been their past to an idyllic condition of society. Yet here is what Haliburton adds to his quotation from Raynal :

"Such is the picture of these people as drawn by Raynal. By many, it is thought to represent a state of social happiness, totally inconsistent with the frailties of human nature ; and that it is

worthy rather of the poet than the historian. In describing a scene of rural felicity like this, it is not improbable that his narrative has partaken of the warmth of feeling for which he was remarkable ; *but it comes nearer the truth than is generally imagined.* Tradition is fresh and positive in the various parts of the United States, where they were located, respecting their guileless, peaceable and scrupulous character ; and the descendants of those whose long cherished and endearing local attachment induced them to return to the land of their nativity, still deserve the name of a mild, frugal and pious people."

Although this opinion of a quasi-contemporary, weighty as it is, failed to attract Parkman's attention ; although the very name of so eminent a writer is never mentioned by him, I trust I may be allowed to quote the opinions of persons who had much to do with the deportation, and in doing so I am far from pretending to enlighten Mr. Parkman, who had these passages before him when he wrote ; I merely wish to furnish the unprejudiced reader with reliable data from the most authentic sources.

The Rev. Andrew Brown, wishing to collect information on the character, manners and habits of the Acadians, made inquiries of persons who had had excellent opportunities of judging. One was Captain Brook Watson, who had commanded the detachment sent to Bay Verte to carry off the inhabitants and burn their houses, and, on another occasion, had had command of a flotilla of several vessels transporting the Acadians from Halifax to Boston. Another of Brown's witnesses is that Moses de les Derniers who played so wretched a part during the deportation. This one I quote first :

"The Acadians were the most innocent and virtuous people I have ever known or read of in any history. They lived in a state of perfect equality, without dis-

inction of rank in society. The title of 'Mister' was unknown among them. Knowing nothing of luxury or even of the conveniences of life, they were content with a simple manner of living, which they easily compassed by the tillage of their lands. Very little ambition or *avarice* was to be seen among them; they anticipated each other's wants with kindly liberality; they demanded no interest for loans of money or other property. They were humane and hospitable to strangers, and very liberal toward those who embraced their religion. They were very remarkable for their inviolable purity of morals. I do not remember a single instance of illegitimate birth among them, even to this day. Their attainments in agriculture were very limited, though they cultivated well enough their diked lands.

"They were altogether ignorant of progress in the arts and sciences. I have known but one of them that could read and write well; some could do so, but imperfectly, and none of them had learned the mechanical arts. Each husbandman was his own architect and each land-owner tilled the soil. They lived in almost complete independence of other peoples, except when they wanted salt and tools, because they used very little iron in the other agricultural implements.

"They themselves cultivated and made up whatever was needed for their clothing, which was uniform. As for colors they were fond of black and red, and liked to have stripes on their legs, knots of ribbons and flowing bows. Notwithstanding their negligence, their want of skill and knowledge in agriculture, they amassed abundant stores of food and clothing, and had comfortable dwellings.

"They were a very healthy people, able to endure

great fatigue, and generally living to a very advanced age, though none of them employed doctors. The men worked hard in the sowing and harvesting seasons, in the season suited for building or repairing dikes, and whenever work had to be done quickly. They thus secured, for at least half the year, leisure which they employed in social gatherings and amusements of which they were very fond. But the women were more constantly at work than the men; however, they had a considerable share in the amusements of the former. Though they were all quite illiterate, yet it seldom happened that any of them remained silent for a long time in company. They never seemed at a loss for something to talk about. In short, they all appeared at heart joyful and gay and of one mind almost always. If any disputes arose in their transactions, they always submitted to the decision of an arbitrator, and their final appeal was to the priests. Although I have known a few instances of mutual recrimination after these decisions, still one seldom or never noticed among them thoughts of malice or revenge. Finally, they were quite accustomed to behave with candor under all circumstances. Really, if there ever was a people that recalled the golden age, as described in history, that people was the old-time Acadians."

Brook Watson's description reads thus: "They were an honest, hard-working, sober and virtuous people; rarely did quarrels arise among them. In summer, the men were continually at work on their farms; in winter, they were engaged in cutting wood for their fuel and fences, and in hunting; the women spent their time carding, spinning and weaving wool, flax and hemp which this country furnished in plenty. These articles, with

the fur of bear, beaver, fox, otter and marten provided them not only with comfortable, but often with tasteful garments. They also procured for them other necessary or useful objects by means of the exchange trade they carried on with the French and English. There were few houses without a cask of French wine. They had no other dyes than black and green ; but, to obtain red, of which they were remarkably fond, they got English red stuffs, which they cut up, ravelled out, carded, spun and wove into strips to adorn the women's dresses. Their country was so rich in provisions that, as I have heard, an ox could be bought for fifty shillings, a sheep for five, and a bushel of wheat for eighteen pence. Young men were not encouraged to marry unless the young girl could weave a piece of cloth, and the young man make a pair of wheels. These accomplishments were deemed essential for their marriage settlement, and they hardly needed anything else, for every time there was a wedding the whole village contributed to set up the newly-married couple. They built a house for them, and cleared enough land for their immediate needs ; they gave them live stock and poultry ; and nature, seconded by their own labor, soon put them in a position to help others. I have never heard of marital infidelity among them. Their long cold winters were spent in the pleasures of joyous hospitality. As they had plenty of firewood, their houses were always comfortable. Rustic songs and dancing were their principal amusement." *

* Collection of N. S. Hist. Soc. Vol. II, p. 132. This is taken from Casgrain's translation.

Here is an extract from a letter addressed to the Duc de Nivernais on Dec. 2, 1762: "The Acadians lived like the ancient patriarchs amid their flocks and herds, in the innocence and equality of the earliest ages. All those who have known them speak with emotion of their virtues and their happiness."

I have little to add or change in these descriptions of Acadian manners. In their lights as in their shades I know them to be fairly correct, and that is all I am looking for. What a difference between these pictures and the disjointed extracts culled here and there by Parkman! Seldom does the historian meet with materials combining in so high a degree those conditions that inspire confidence and respect. The circumstances in which these descriptions were composed are unique: they were intended to figure in a history which Brown was preparing. This man, whose high character sets him on the same level as Haliburton and Murdoch, when casting about him for competent witnesses, must have chosen them with discernment and with the fullest confidence in their ability and willingness to tell the unvarnished truth. Considering that the information furnished by these men was intended for so important a purpose, it is evident that they must have been thoroughly conversant with the subject and must have carefully weighed their words. In fact they seem to be replying to a series of questions. Neither of the two had any interest in exaggerating the virtues of the Acadians, since, had they done so, they would have added to the infamy of their own share in the deportation. It might appear astonishing that Parkman has not seized this exceptional opportunity of giving authentic information to his readers, did we not know that he has never mentioned even the names of Brown and Haliburton, and that, under various disguises, he has given so much space to Pichon.

Moses de les Derniers and Brook Watson were neither poets nor novelists, and yet Raynal said no more than they did. "Raynal," as Rameau observes, "may

have sinned against good taste by describing these things in the turgid style of the eighteenth century; but the wording alone is out of tune; the things are quite true."* Poets and novelists, moved by the woes of the Acadians after a long period of plenty and happiness, may have girdled them with a romantic halo that places them beyond the stern realities of life. This cannot be helped; in doing so, they followed the noblest drawings of our human nature. Great tragedies have a magnetism of their own; he who dramatizes them may, without writing history, correct it in some of its representatives. Parkman, for instance, has made such contributions necessary. The writers thereof are the successors of those knights-errant of yore who went about the world seeking for woes to console, injustices to repair and tyrants to punish. It were cruelty to carp at the oil and wine they have poured, like the good Samaritan, on the wounds of the people that were stripped by robbers and left half dead. For those who, wishing to forget this tragedy, cannot, it is a great consolation to call to mind the sweet memory of Longfellow and of so many other sympathetic souls.

To come down to plain facts, I would say with Rameau: "The Acadians were not poets, nor enthusiasts, nor dreamers; they were simply good folk (*de braves gens*), very obliging to each other, very religious, very devoted to their families, and living gaily in the midst of their children, without much worry."† In a word, they were honest, peaceable and happy folk, with more or less of the weaknesses of our common nature.

* *Une Colonie Feodale en Amerique*, Vol. II. p. 97.

† *Ibid.* p. 89.

To these unexceptionable testimonies I trust I may be suffered to add my own, as far as it goes. I have had the privilege, if not of living long among Acadians, at least of very frequently visiting them in the parish of Saint-Grégoire, opposite Three Rivers, where my grandfathers lived. This is one of the places they took refuge in after the eight years of exile in the ports of New England. They founded this parish, and to this day it probably does not contain five families that are not of Acadian origin. The soil was very rich, but very damp and thickly wooded. The Acadians—and in this I think they were right—have always preferred low-lying lands, in spite of the greater difficulty of clearing and draining them; those who settled at L'Acadie, near the town of St. John, P. Q., and at St. Jacques l'Achigan also chose similar lands. These parishes are among the most prosperous of the province of Quebec. To speak of Saint-Grégoire alone, I believe the descriptions of Brook Watson and Moses de les Derniers would apply to the state of this parish twenty-five years ago as exactly as the circumstances permitted. Except that parents alone arranged for the marriage settlements of their children, and that education was very general, all the rest faithfully represents the condition of affairs that existed at Grand Pré 137 years ago. Disputes were still settled by arbitration; I never heard of but one lawsuit, and never of an illegitimate birth or a public scandal. There never has been, and I think there still is not a single licensed hotel in the place. It was still the custom to provide in the autumn for the necessities of the poor during winter: all the fuel, provisions and clothing they needed till spring were brought to their houses. I am told that a Mutual

Insurance Company was founded two years ago; up to that date all losses by fire were made good by the community, which provided not only the material but the labor, and the rule was to replace the sufferer in the same situation as before the accident. I remember that no exception was made to this rule even in the case of a rich miser of unenviable reputation. And, if their houses are like those of their fathers in Acadia—which is very likely, because they were such sticklers for tradition, and because very many of the houses date from the last century—then the contemptuous remarks I have quoted from two French officers would be altogether inapplicable.*

* My grandfather, Joseph Prince—Le Prince—was a merchant at Saint-Grégoire, in partnership with his brother François. They were married to two sisters, Julie and Henriette Doucet. They each had ten children, in all fourteen girls and six boys. They held all their household property in common and lived in the same house, which they enlarged several times. They had with them their aged parents, and gave a college education to their youngest brother, who became bishop of Saint-Hyacinthe. They adopted a young Irish girl, Mary Walsh, whose parents had died of cholera at Quebec. All these children received a good education, either in a college or a convent; two of the sons are priests, both canons, one of the diocese of Three Rivers and the other of that of Saint-Hyacinthe. When the house would no longer admit of enlargement, they built a new one alongside; but after it was furnished, it remained unoccupied more than a year, so averse were they to a separation after forty years of this life in common.

About the year 1836 the Governor of Canada, on his way to Sherbrooke with his suite, lodged and was entertained at his own request in my grandfather's house. Later, during the troubles of 1837-8, hospitality of a very different nature was extended to the brother (Benjamin) of the Honorable L. J. Papineau. His retreat was finally discovered; he was arrested there by Chief Constable Burns and imprisoned at Three Rivers.

Some years before, an American from Boston, returning from Quebec, stayed over night with my grandfather. The name of the city of Boston was sorrowfully familiar to the Acadians of Saint-Grégoire; but the sadness of the memory was not so marked in my grandfather's case, because his own grandfather had been kindly taken up and protected by a charitable lady of whom my family ever cherished a touching remembrance. The conversation was long and agreeable; it turned on the deportation and finally on the charitable lady. Great was the surprise and joy of my people when they discovered that the stranger was the grandson of my grandfather's benefactress, whose name, to my deep regret, I cannot recall. Our American friend prolonged his stay, and, when he was about

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Comments on Lawrence's letter to the Governors—On Parkman's insinuations anent the separation of families—More on Parkman's ways.

CHAPTER XXXI. of this work closes with the departure of the flotilla carrying the Acadians into exile: I now come back to the main part of my narrative.

Lawrence had confided to all the captains of the vessels employed in the deportation a circular addressed to the governors of the provinces where the exiles were to be landed. Here are some extracts from this letter:

"The successes we have gained over the French at Beauséjour have put us in a position to exact from the Acadians either an unqualified oath or that they should quit the country. *They have always stipulated for a restriction to the effect that they were not to bear arms against the French; Governor Philipps consented to grant it to them, but he was blamed for this by His Majesty.* They have taken advantage of this neutrality to give information and provisions to the French and the Indians, and, at the evacuation of Beauséjour, 300 of them were found armed.

"Notwithstanding this bad conduct, I offered to leave those who dwelt in the Peninsula in peaceable occupation of their lands, if they consented to take an unqualified oath. This offer was audaciously refused by the entire population.

"Under these circumstances, *after consultation with Vice-*

to leave, he was presented with a pocket-compass which his grandmother had given to Joseph Prince's grandfather, and which had guided him and his companions through the forests. "Take it," said my grandfather, "it may be of use to you as you return by the same road. How precious soever it is to us as a memento of past kindness, it will be equally so to you and may do you the same service it did to us."

Admiral Boscawen, *my council* came to the decision to deport them. We foresaw that their expulsion, with the privilege of going where they willed, would have considerably strengthened France ; *as, moreover, the latter country had no cleared lands to offer them*, those who were able to bear arms would have been employed in harassing us ; I have therefore deemed that the most effectual and expeditious means of getting rid of them, without inconvenience, was to distribute them throughout the colonies, so that they might not come together again. As this measure was absolutely indispensable to the safety of this colony, we hope you will have no hesitation to receive them, and that you will dispose of them in such a way as to meet our views, *which are to prevent them from coming together again.*"

Always the same general accusations ; only one specific fact, repeated on every occasion, the three hundred men taken armed at Beauséjour. Lawrence, here also, is careful not to add that they were pardoned by the articles of the capitulation because they had taken arms under pain of death. Where, then, was the guilt of the only Acadians against whom he has been able to formulate a precise charge ? Does he not admit himself that Philipps had granted them the restriction they then wanted and which they have always demanded ? This condition being withdrawn, had they not the right to quit the country, as they had done ? By that very fact were they not become French subjects, as Cornwallis himself admitted, and as the most ignorant common sense would show ? Did not the conduct of those living near Fort Beauséjour who refused to fight the English, and the conduct of the 300 inside the fort, who yielded only to the most terrible threats, deserve the thanks and sympathy of the English ? There is ample proof that it was the pressure brought to bear on the French commandant by these 300 men that led him to surrender without resistance.

Lawrence adds that His Majesty disapproved the restriction granted by Philipps. What really happened was that the Lords of Trade expressed doubts as to the meaning of a word in the French copy of the oath; Philipps maintained his interpretation, and his reply ended the discussion; but nowhere is it said that the Lords of Trade, still less the King, disapproved the neutrality clause. Moreover, if there was any such disapproval, it could not affect the Acadians unless they were formally notified of it, and we see, from the documents I have quoted with regard to Cornwallis's administration, that, up to that period, no mention had been made of this disapproval.

The way Lawrence repeats his charge about the 300 proves that he had no other definite charges to make. At any rate the case of the Peninsular Acadians, who had remained peaceably on their lands, at a great distance from the French settlements, ought to be considered separately. Besides, had they been inclined to rebel, what would have been the use of an unrestricted oath, since the one they had already taken bound them to fidelity as much as any other? In fact, it was called the oath of fidelity. Why this insistence on any oath at all, if they were faithless to the one they had taken? The importance attached to a special form of oath implies that they set great store by such engagements, and therefore were not rebels. Parkman says they refused the oath "in full view of the consequences." Evidently Parkman means the consequences that actually followed, viz., the deportation. Now, between this and the alternative they accepted, viz., to quit the country and go where they pleased, there yawns a bridgeless chasm, of which Parkman was quite aware.

When Lawrence avers that he *does not send the Acadians to Canada because there were no cleared lands to receive them*, he gives a reason that would be amusing, were not the subject so overwhelmingly sad and his fraud so transparent. Pray, what had he prepared for them at Boston, in Connecticut, in New York, at Philadelphia, in Georgia and North Carolina? His circular to the Governors was the first intimation they received of the expulsion; some of them even refused a landing and the exiles were left, for weeks, horribly crowded in their vessels, decimated by disease.

"Our view," says he, "in thus scattering them, is to prevent them from coming together again." We are justified in paraphrasing this sentence somewhat after this fashion: "I have thought that, were we to deport the inhabitants of one parish to the same place, leaving the members of each family together, they might conspire to return and take possession of their lands once more. Effectually to obviate this possible contingency, I have given orders to scatter the people of one parish in widely distant places, and I have striven, as far as I could, to do the same thing for the members of each family; so that father, mother and children will, for a long time, have no other concern than how to find each other. Meanwhile, bodily privations and grief will kill them off in great numbers." This is the only satisfactory explanation of the special pains which Lawrence, who was too artful not to have a motive for everything, took to separate parish and family groups.

"In spite of Winslow's care," says Parkman, "some cases of separation of families occurred; but they were not numerous." Proofs of this assertion he gives none for obvious reasons. True, Winslow had declared to

the delegates imprisoned in the church of Grand Pré that he would see to keeping families together; but a promise is no proof that the thing was done. Winslow may have been more humane than the others; but we must not forget that Lawrence's orders were to seize the men and ship them off first, and to attend to the women and children afterwards. If these orders were not executed to the letter, it was because the provisions and the convoys for the transports arrived only at the last moment, after almost all the people had been for weeks on board the ships, and because Winslow and the other commanding officers had not the power or the inhumanity to prevent the reunion of a certain number of families. In other words, opportunity was wanting for the execution of the barbarous order in all its severity. When I say that a certain number of families were reunited on the same vessel, I mean—and I am weighing my words carefully—that these families were the exception. I affirm, therefore, the exact contradictory of Parkman's affirmation: he says "cases of separation were not numerous;" I say *cases of non-separation were not numerous*. Of course Parkman could not know what I have learned by word of mouth in Acadian homes. It would be a serious mistake to suppose that the memory of these events has long been lost among the Acadians. I know it is fast disappearing now; but, as late as thirty-five years ago, each family could relate the story of the departure, the embarkation and the many migrations that ensued. The strivings after reunion lasted until 1786, and then the number of families that remained incomplete was considerable.

However, let us first examine the public proofs, which

MEN ALONE SHIPPED TO NORTH CAROLINA.

Parkman had access to as well as any one else. We have seen that Lawrence had imprisoned on St. George's Island, at Halifax, the Grand Pré and Pigiguit delegates who had refused the oath. They were fifteen in number. We have also seen how, directly after, he ordered the inhabitants of Annapolis, Grand Pré and Pigiguit to send him delegates, whom he also imprisoned. They were a hundred, seventy from the two last-named places and thirty from Annapolis; in all (with the 15 just mentioned) 115 of the principal citizens, probably all heads of families. Their guilt was in no way different from that of the rest of the population; they had refused the oath, that was all. What became of them? The following order will tell us:

"Sailing orders and instructions to Samuel Barron, master of the Transport Sloop 'Providence.'

"HALIFAX, 8d Oct. 1755.

"SIR,

"You are to receive on board your sloop from *George Island*, a number of *French inhabitants*, a list whereof you will receive from the commanding officer there, and you are to proceed therewith to the Province of North Carolina, etc., etc.,

"LAWRENCE"

I have been able to ascertain that the number of men sent away on this occasion was only 50. Were the 65 others sent off earlier or later, or did they join their families before the deportation? I cannot say for certain; but I have reason to think that they were sent to Grand Pré and Annapolis later on, in order to complete the quota of the vessels that carried off the rest of the population. Seven days after these 50 Acadians left Halifax, another vessel, the *Hopson*, destined also

to North Carolina, set sail from Halifax on October 10th to take or complete its shipment at Annapolis. We may reasonably suppose that some, if not all, of the 65 other prisoners were on board this vessel. Did they meet at Annapolis some members of their respective families? Possibly; but, as many of them hailed from Grand Pré and Pigiguit, those who were reunited to their families at Annapolis must have been few. Consequently, we have, in this single instance, probably from 100 to 115 husbands separated from their wives and children; and, with an average of five children, besides the parents, for each family, a modest estimate for Acadians, we can already count from 700 to 800 persons suffering from the dismemberment of their families. The fact that Lawrence kept these heads of families at Halifax, while he was transporting the rest of the population, proves evidently that his intention was to disunite the families.

Since Parkman seems bent on exonerating Winslow, I am about to show that the latter probably deserves no such palliation. With the exception, perhaps, of Joseph Le Blanc, Nicolas Gauthier, Louis Allain and Lucien de la Tour, the most important personage among the Acadians was René Le Blanc, the notary of Grand Pré. Though having a right to enjoy the benefits of neutrality, he had eschewed them to serve the British Government so zealously that he was made prisoner by the Indians and kept in captivity during four years. In a petition to the King (produced in full at the end of this volume) the Acadian exiles at Philadelphia thus describe their misfortunes:

“We were transported into the English Colonies, and this was done with so much haste, and with so little regard to our neces-

sities and the tenderest ties of nature, that from the most social enjoyments and affluent circumstances, many found themselves destitute of the necessities of life. *Parents were separated from children and husbands from wives*, some of whom have not to this day met again; and we were so crowded in the Transport vessels, that we had not room even for all our bodies to lay down at once. . . . And even those amongst us who had suffered deeply from Your Majesty's enemies, on account of their attachment to Your Majesty's Government, were equally involved in the common calamity, of which René Le Blanc, the Notary Public, is an instance. He was *seized, confined*, and brought away among the rest of the people, and his family, consisting of twenty children and about one hundred and fifty grand-children, were scattered in different colonies, so that he was put on shore at New York, with only his wife and two youngest children, in an infirm state of health, from whence he joined three more of his children at Philadelphia, where he died," etc., etc., etc.,

Parkman must have seen this petition, which is found in Haliburton and elsewhere. Now, if such was the treatment inflicted on the leading citizen of Grand Pré, on a man who had suffered a long captivity in the service of the English Government, what must have been the fate of the other exiles?

With regard to Grand Pré, I will now adduce an instance with which I am personally connected. Honoré Hébert, the grandfather of my grandmother Richard, had three brothers whose ages ranged from 10 to 20 at the time of the deportation. Each of the four brothers was deported to a different place, and it was not till ten years later that they were able to meet again in the parish of Saint-Grégoire. The story is related by Casgrain in his "*Pèlerinage au pays d'Évangéline*," not as if it were an exceptional case, but because the family became relatively more prominent than others.

"Of this number was a young man of eighteen named Etienne Hébert, carried off from the parish of

Grand Pré, where he dwelt in the valley of Petit Ruisseau, in the concession of the Héberts. Separated from his brothers, who had been deported one to Massachusetts, another to Maryland, and the third to another place, while he himself, put ashore at Philadelphia, had entered the service of an army officer, he gave himself no rest until he could find his brothers whom he believed to have gone to Canada. Disappointed in this hope, but not discouraged, he secured a grant of land at Saint-Grégoire in the seigniory of Bécancourt, and started for the South in winter on snowshoes. After a long search, he had the joy of bringing all three of them back; one was at Worcester, another at Baltimore, and the third somewhere else. The four brothers settled down close to one another at Saint-Grégoire, where they soon prospered." * Casgrain adds that Etienne Hébert, having learnt later that his Grand Pré betrothed, Josephte Babin, was at Quebec, went to meet her there and married her.

We have seen that at Grand Pré—and the same thing must have happened in the other Acadian parishes, since such were Lawrence's orders—some of the men and boys were put on board ships one month before the sailing of the flotilla. Haliburton supposed that they had been deported at once; Parkman rightly corrected this mistake; but from the above account it appears evident that these men and boys were nevertheless deported separately; else it were hard to explain how these four brothers were separated.

Mrs. Williams, the author of "French Neutrals," a

* They returned northward by the Kennebec and Chaudière rivers as far as Quebec. The one from whom I am descended, Honoré, was found at Boston. On his way to Canada he had his feet frozen.

countrywoman of Parkman's, who wrote long before him at a time when the memory of these events was still fresh, says, in reference to Winslow's promise to the Acadians that he would not separate families: "A promise which, whatever may have been the intentions of Winslow in making it, was most shamefully and inhumanly broken. By what sophisms Winslow reconciled this deception, not to say abominable falsehood, to his conscience, history does not tell."

In Dr. Brown's notes are to be found memoranda by a Mr. Fraser of Miramichi, whom Brown had asked to collect information from the Acadians who had settled there. I extract therefrom the following passage: "Michel Le Basque (Bastarache), his brother Pierre and twelve others, travelled through the woods from Carolina to the head of the river St. Lawrence, and from there came all the way in a canoe to Shediac (in New Brunswick) to meet their wives and families. The greatest injustice that the Acadians seem to think the English were guilty of is, that those who were removed from Beaubassin and Grand Pré had it not in their option to go wherever they pleased, and that the wives and children of several were not permitted to embark on board the same vessel with the husband and parents, but were put on board other ships bound to different colonies, by which means many families were separated and have not met to this day (1790)." Brown adds: "Mr. Fraser has not the active curiosity of J. Gray, the acute sensibility of Moses de Les Derniers, or the dignified benevolence of Brook Watson, but he is a man of shrewd understanding, calm passions, with nothing of the romantic in his nature."

Hutchinson, the historian of Massachusetts, mentions

several cases of separation that came to his knowledge. The New York Mercury of that period protests against these outrages. "Their wives and children," it says, "were not permitted with them, but were shipped on board other vessels."

A letter from Abbé Le Guerne says that, among 250 families who were at River St. John after the dispersion, there were not less than 60 women whose husbands had been deported.

So numerous, indeed, are the witnesses to this dismemberment of families that the only difficulty is to make a proper selection. Perhaps the most striking of these testimonies is the collective petition to the French Government of a crowd of exiles landed at St. Malo, who begged to be transported to Boston, thus exposing themselves to fresh persecutions in "the hope," as their petition expressed it, "of being reunited to their children whom the English had carried thither."

The Reverend Louis Richard, President of Three Rivers College, in answer to a request for precise information on the beginnings of the Acadian colony of Saint Grégoire and of the Three Rivers District, writes to me on November 2d, 1892 :

" You were not mistaken ; for more than twenty years I have been collecting, here and there, all that concerns the Acadian families and their settlement in the District of Three Rivers. I have made extracts of all the registers of the parishes of Saint-Grégoire, Nicolet, Bécancour, etc. ; I have questioned old people ; I have made a voyage to Acadia ; at Halifax I took copies of the old registers of Port Royal, and to-day I possess all the data necessary to recompose in a great measure the genealogy of the families in this District.

I knew in a general way from fireside recitals that there had been much separation of families; but I was far from suspecting that it was so general. The first refugees arrived in 1759; they were almost all from the neighborhood of Beauséjour, and had come by the St. John River. Starting in the spring, without provisions or ammunition, their advance was necessarily slow, as they could provide for their sustenance only by fishing and the rare game they sometimes caught in snares. At length, however, at the beginning of winter, they came out upon the St. Lawrence at Cacouna. There was probably not one complete family in this first group. My ancestor, Joseph Richard, and yours, Michel Richard, were of the party; mine was with some of his wife's relatives, the Cormiers; yours, then 15 years old, had with him only his sister, Félicité, 10 years of age, and his aged grandfather, René Richard.* The names of Joseph Richard and his wife, Madeleine Le Blanc, father and mother of your great-grandfather Michel Richard, appear nowhere in the registers, whether it be that they were dead before the deportation or died in the English colonies before the peace of 1763. Nor do I find that he was rejoined at Saint-Grégoire by any of his brothers or sisters.

"All those who settled in Canada between 1759 and 1763 belong to the group that escaped the deportation. After the treaty of peace others came continually from many different places till 1786, when the last contingent came from France. Even then, the complete families were very rare; in many cases this was probably due to the very great mortality produced by want and suffering

* He was then 73 years old and died in 1776 at the age of 90.

for those who had escaped the deportation, and by disease for those who were deported to hot climates.

"These researches produced on me the most painful impression, because I found at every step proofs of the unprecedented dismemberment of families. All those that land on our shores are but wretched remnants. We constantly meet with none but widowers, widows and orphans ; there are many more widowers than widows ; it looks as if the women had been less able to withstand grief and want ; you can judge of this yourself by the accompanying lists." . . .

Here is what Casgrain says of another of my ancestors, Jean Prince (Le Prince) : "The grandfather of Monseigneur Prince, the first bishop of Saint-Hyacinthe, was put ashore alone at Boston, where a charitable family received him ; he found his parents only many years later (1772)."

I cannot conceive what Parkman's authority was for saying that the families separated were "not numerous." Setting aside my special sources of information, which were inaccessible to him, it seems to me he had enough witnesses from all quarters to convince him of the contrary. We have positive testimony that even at Grand Pré families were not allowed to unite. However, it may be that many of these separations were due to the ignorance in which the Acadians were maintained as to the place of their destination. In order to induce them to be more resigned to their fate, they must have been made to believe that they would all be disembarked at the same port ; this being so, it mattered little whether or not the members of one family were on the same vessel ; they would all meet again on landing, which was the important point.

Besides, for so religious and modest a people as they were, it was not becoming that young men and grown-up girls should be crowded together in the same ship. This is what Abbé Le Guerne very clearly hints at; but Parkman, who quotes, without understanding him, attributes to his words a meaning that is quite absurd: "Le Guerne, missionary priest in this neighborhood (Beauséjour), gives a characteristic and affecting incident of the embarkation: 'Many unhappy women, carried away by excessive attachment to their husbands, whom they had been allowed to see too often, and closing their ears to the voice of religion and their missionary, threw themselves blindly and despairingly into the English vessels. And now was seen the saddest of spectacles; for some of the women, solely from a religious motive, refused to take with them their grown-up sons and daughters.'" Parkman adds this sapient, and as he thought, sarcastic remark: "They would expose their own souls to perdition among heretics, but not those of their children." What Le Guerne meant was this: It was unfortunate that, *for a mere scruple of decency and propriety*, these women refused to take with them *in the same ship, their grown-up sons and daughters*. His expression, "from a religious motive," used by a French Catholic priest, with whom to be modest and to be religious are practically synonymous terms, undoubtedly signifies "from a motive of decency." The words, "grown-up sons and daughters," explain Le Guerne's meaning perfectly. Parkman's interpretation is, moreover, contrary to fact. These young men, whom their mothers would not take *with them and their grown-up daughters* of different families, *were*, nevertheless, also *deported*, since they

were in the power of the authorities, and therefore Parkman's wretched joke about exposing them among heretics does not apply at all to them; but they were deported on other vessels and to other places; hence it is that Le Guerne deemed this a deplorable piece of scrupulosity in such circumstances, since its effect was to dismember families. I should not have taken the trouble to contradict Parkman in a matter of such slight importance, did I not see in this fact a possible explanation of a certain number of separations.

It is plain that the exiles were kept under the impression that the vessels they were sailing on were all destined to the same place. No other idea could enter their heads unless they supposed a refinement of cruelty that surpassed the wildest flights of their fancy. Le Guerne, who enumerates the subterfuges employed to induce the fugitives to give themselves up, says expressly that the promise was made to bring back "each one to his old homestead" after the war.

Bulkeley, secretary of the Council, who tried so hard and unsuccessfully to make Brown admit his justification of the expulsion and its attendant incidents, says, "that, instead of taking with them their effects and money, they piled them up in chests and earthen vessels, which they buried in the earth or lowered to the bottom of wells; that, after their departure, these effects and considerable sums of money were found by the English." Surely, the Acadians would not have left their valuables, especially their money, behind them, had they not relied on some such promises as Le Guerne mentions.

Whatever may have been the cause of the separation of families, whether it was due to a preconceived plan—which seems evident so far as Lawrence is concerned—

or to the persuasion fostered among the Acadians that all the vessels were bound for the same port, or to other unavowable subterfuges, the result is the same, the crime is none the less. No more attention was paid to the feelings and comfort of these unfortunate beings than if they had been a cargo of cattle; in fact, cattle would be better treated by any one who had an interest in their healthy condition. "The whole colony was embarked pell-mell," says one writer, "without regard to the reunion of families. A civilized nation renewed the ancient barbarities of the Gepidæ and the Heruli."

"In one particular," says Parkman, "the authors of the deportation were disappointed in its results. They had hoped to substitute a loyal population for a disaffected one; but they failed for some time to find settlers for the vacated lands. The Massachusetts soldiers, to whom they were offered, would not stay in the Province; and it was not till five years later that families of *British stock* began to occupy the waste fields of the Acadians. This goes far to show that a longing to become their heirs had not, as has been alleged, any considerable part in the motives for their removal."

I should prefer to be calm and indulgent, as I have been towards other writers, though often I thought myself justified in suspecting their motives; but I confess that I find it very difficult to restrain my indignation against Parkman. The amount of trickery and inaccuracy which he has crammed into his ninety pages exceeds all that the reader could imagine. The foregoing extract is on a par with the rest; his methods are always the same.

The way Parkman introduces his expression, "*families of British stock*," seems to show that he wanted to

convey the impression that these lands were settled by *old country people*. He can stand well enough an imputation against these, but not against New England people.

No thoughtful writer has ever pretended that the motive of the expulsion was a desire on the part of New England colonists to get possession of the lands of the Acadians. This pretension may, indeed, have been put forward, but merely as an hypothesis and not by any writer of note. Few persons, even among historians, have studied thoroughly this "Lost Chapter." The disappearance of the documents made it a question that both attracted and repelled the patient truth-seeker. The very mystery in which it was shrouded aroused suspicions; in the fragments that had escaped destruction there were clear vestiges of a crime. Not being able to discover the true cause, some have allowed their suspicions to rest on all imaginable points. Parkman, with his customary assurance, believed he could settle the whole question and get round the difficulty by defending what was not seriously attacked. Choosing out of the heap of suggested explanations one mere supposition, rarely hazarded, the least likely, the least respectable of all; lifting it to the level of a strong argument, as if it were the only one, he overthrows it with a trenchant phrase, as if he were cutting the Gordian knot.

It may very well be that the American colonists longed to become the heirs of the Acadians; the murderer's crime is sometimes profitable to others; but that profit does not enter into his calculations; he is thinking of himself alone when he commits the crime. Lawrence was working for his own interests, and, if he had

accomplices, they were near him at Halifax, and not on the coasts of New England, where the projects he was forming were most probably unknown to the public.

Had not Parkman intended merely to draw the public off the scent, in order to save the true culprits, this would have been an excellent opportunity for introducing into his work, without comment if he so preferred, some brief mention of the 20,000 acres each, which Lawrence's councillors granted themselves out of the lands of the Acadians. And, if he thought he could explain this grant in such a way as to exonerate the grantees, he would at least have had the merit of exhibiting his casuistic ability, without inventing a sham effigy in order to have the glory of knocking it down.

Since Parkman here touches on the motives for the removal of the Acadians, his readers would have been interested in hearing of the charges made against Lawrence by the citizens of Halifax anent the cattle of the Acadians and other branches of the public service ; of the letter of the Lords of Trade to Belcher, containing charges of the same kind and many more, which show what sort of a tyrant Lawrence was ; of Lawrence's instructions to Monckton, ordering him to seize the men and ship them off first, and to see to the women afterwards. His readers would likewise have been interested in learning that the archives of this important period were despoiled of the documents they once contained ; that the records of the Acadians were carried off by Lawrence's orders and destroyed ; that Pichon, the traitor and spy, whose opinions furnish forth most of Parkman's narrative, is not the only available authority, but that there exists at Halifax a manuscript compiled with care by a contemporary of the events, the Rev. Andrew

Brown, who spent ten years in that city, and that this manuscript contains new and valuable documents and equally valuable opinions, very different from his. Finally, what would perhaps have interested the public above everything else was Sir Thomas Robinson's letter to Lawrence, condemning beforehand all expulsion, and thus proving to a demonstration that Lawrence was deceiving both the Acadians and the rest of the world when he said he was authorized to impose the oath under penalty of expulsion. Not one of this long list of facts has been explained or even touched by Parkman, although he knew of them all.

However, some one will say, Parkman's assertion that the Massachusetts soldiers, to whom the Acadian farms were offered, would not stay in the Province, and that the waste fields of the Acadians were not occupied by British families till five years later, must surely be true. Yes, there is just a wee grain of truth in it. It is true that the soldiers refused to remain in the Province, but the real motive of their refusal is nowhere given by Parkman. It is true that four or five years elapsed before English-speaking families settled there; but these families were mostly not of "British stock," and the true motive of the delay is not given by Parkman.

Lawrence wanted to retain these Massachusetts soldiers in his province in spite of their repugnance and of the expostulations of Winslow and Governor Shirley. These soldiers had enlisted for a year; their time was up; and yet Lawrence, conscienceless as he was, strove to lengthen out their service; but nowhere do we read that he offered them or that they refused the lands of the Acadians. I should, therefore, be justified in setting over against Parkman's mere assertion my firm convic-

tion, based on experience of his usual methods, that he has simply invented this offer of lands. However, in presence of an affirmation the truth of which I am unable to verify, I am willing to admit this offer, unlikely though it is. But the motive of their refusal is no proof that they did not "long to become the heirs of the Acadians." If they refused, it was because that offer of lands was valueless so long as Lawrence ruled Nova Scotia with his iron hand. Citizens of a province accustomed to self-government, they would not put up with this Governor's tyranny.

Directly after the deportation Lawrence had requested Shirley to send him colonists. It is probably this request that suggested Parkman's assertion; but it seems clear, from Shirley's answer, that Parkman distorts the fact when he applies this request to the Massachusetts soldiers under Winslow's orders. Shirley, in the following reply, says nothing about soldiers and lays stress upon the danger of hostilities in a way that he would not if the settlers were soldiers.

"*The settling of the vacated lands of the Acadians,*" says the Governor of Massachusetts, "*seems to me very difficult to be effected in the present state of hostilities in North America, exposed as would be the settlers from Indian and French hostilities. The present constitution of the Government in your Province will be an obstacle to its being settled by good Protestant subjects from New England, as they are fond, not only of being governed by General Assemblies, consisting of a Governor, Council and House of Representative, but likewise of Charters. To draw settlers from this Continent you would have also to make public the terms, etc., etc.*" *

* Archives of Nova Scotia, p. 421.

This reply embodies all the motives for which Lawrence was unable during four years to plant colonists on the lands of the Acadians. Parkman, of course, knew of this letter, but said nothing about the explanation it affords of the long delay. Shirley was right in saying that the terms on which these lands would be held should first be made public. For practical men like those to whom Lawrence applied, this question was important. If Lawrence's councillors had already voted themselves their land grants, it is to be presumed that they would not concede their property gratis.

But at least, it may be urged, was not Parkman historically correct when he said that the vacant lands were occupied, not by Americans, but "by families of British stock"? No; he was not. It is true that, subsequently, there came colonists from England, Ireland and Scotland; but the great majority of the first successors of the Acadians, from 1759 to 1762, came from New England.

Lawrence, unable to offer the inducement of representative institutions which Shirley deemed necessary, did not seriously renew his efforts till October, 1758, when the Lords of Trade had forced him to grant a Legislative Chamber. Then he issued a proclamation specially inviting the inhabitants of New England to come and occupy these lands. He laid particular stress on the fact that the government of Nova Scotia was now altogether similar to those of Massachusetts, Connecticut and the other American colonies. From that moment, says Haliburton, "emigration began to flow in a steady and constant stream *from the colonies on the continent*. From Boston there arrived six vessels carrying

200 settlers and from Rhode Island four schooners with 100 passengers." *

"The township of Cornwallis, which has been styled the garden of Nova Scotia, was settled at the same time with Horton (Grand Pré and Rivière aux Canards) and by persons who emigrated from the same colony, Connecticut. They sailed together in a fleet of twenty vessels, convoyed by a brick of war, mounting sixteen guns, commanded by Captain Pigott. They arrived on the 4th of June, 1760, and took possession of the lands formerly occupied by the Acadians. They met a few straggling families of Acadians. . . . They had eaten no bread for five years." †

The wee grain of truth in Parkman's assertion is contained in the arrival about this time (1760) of two hundred emigrants from the North of Ireland, who settled at Horton (Grand Pré).

No blame, as I have already pointed out, attaches to these colonists; they doubtless profited by the property and deportation of the Acadians, but in an altogether indirect way, without sharing in the guilt or even knowing of the crime to which they were indebted for the ownership of these lands.

* *Hist. of Nova Scotia*, vol. I. p. 234.

† *Ibid.*, vol. II. p. 120.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Acadians in Exile.

WE have now to follow the Acadians into exile, to relate the sufferings of their long pilgrimage in foreign lands. This chapter is still more obscure than the preceding one. Their lamentations and their anguish were lost in the din of arms. For eight years, with varied success, France and England kept up the struggle with increasing obstinacy, the latter, in order to seize upon and secure the definitive possession of this continent, witness of so many struggles and sacrifices; the former, in order to retain a shred of what was slipping from her grasp, and to withdraw without too great humiliation from the conflict upon which she had imprudently entered.

Added to the intense prejudices that then existed, this cruel war, which raged for the eight years of the captivity of the Acadians, was not calculated to foster the sympathy which their lamentable fate might have evoked. War stifles all sentiments of pity; whatever has the remotest connection with the enemy becomes an object of hatred or contempt. Those who, in ordinary circumstances, would allow themselves to be moved at the sight of suffering, close their hearts to compassion; and hardly are there found here and there a few elect souls who deign to sympathize and offer consolation. What could these unfortunate people hope for at such

a time? Nothing had been prepared for them. They arrived at the beginning of winter, when their presence was met by murmurs and marks of fear.

Dispersed by the orders of Lawrence, decimated by malady, grief and misery, deprived of spiritual succor and human consolations, received with mistrust and contempt, placed in a desperate situation without any visible way out, crushed under the burden of an overwhelming woe, could they again become attached to life, set themselves once more to work and resume their former hopes? Hope, however faint, is the last tie that binds us to life. Where was this hope? Would they ever be able to leave the place of their exile? Would they be able to go in quest of one another, to meet once more and find a safe asylum against new persecutions? This hope was too distant to be seriously entertained. Scattered as they were on all shores from Georgia to Boston, along the coast of the Gulf, in the West Indies, in England and France, how could they ever unite again? How many years would elapse before the husband could find his wife, the parents their children, deported no one knew where? Would they survive the grief, the hardships, the climate?

History has so far done no more than relate the principal fact, the tragic event that violently snatched them from their homes. It is this forsaking of all their possessions, this loss of fatherland that has most forcibly impressed itself on the popular imagination. Unaware of the separation of the inhabitants of one and the same locality, of the dispersion of members of one and the same family, people looked upon this exodus as an immense calamity but a calamity, after all, the traces of which time would blot out. Life is made up of an infi-

nite variety of ties. There are some sudden, poignant griefs that rend the soul; sometimes misfortune has broken only some of these ties: grief has been keen, nay overpowering, but the wound had no great depth; a short time has sufficed to repair the tissues and close the scarred spot. This abandonment of their goods, this loss of fatherland were only the least important of those broken ties. The wife, cast upon a foreign shore, separated from her husband and children, themselves cast on other distant coasts, whom she despaired of ever seeing again; these are the broken ties which time could not renew, which memory could not efface. So long as the body was sound and vigorous, it might hold out; but grief wastes the strength, the body sinks, and this weeping mother, this inconsolable wife could but languish and die. She died of such and such a sickness, people said; but in reality moral suffering alone had killed her.

The extent of these sufferings can be realized by none but Acadians, the sons of the afflicted, who have heard at the family hearth the lamentable account of the transmigration of their forefathers, of their privations and their useless efforts to get together again after long years of captivity. Numerous as were the separations due to Lawrence's orders or to the artifice or indifference of his subalterns, the separations traceable to the great mortality of the exiles were still more numerous. Rameau, who consecrated forty years of his life to patient researches on the number of the deported, their destination and successive transmigrations, ascertained beyond all doubt, by official statements or accurate general estimates, that, of the 18,000 Acadians who peopled the peninsula, the isthmus of Shediac, Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton, 14,000 were deported

between 1755 and 1763; and that the number of those who perished during this time was no less than 8,000. This reduction of forty-four per cent. in the population, when the yearly normal increase had till then been five per cent., represents many other separations besides those ordered by Lawrence. However, to those latter must be attributed, as a natural consequence, a considerable number of the former; and whatever may have been the cause of that terrible mortality, whether grief, destitution, epidemics or ordinary disease, it was none the less appalling. What mother will ever be comforted for the loss of her child who died in exile, far from her motherly care, and perhaps of hunger? And what a small proportion this 44 per cent. leaves of mothers that escaped this misfortune?

It is not by reading the bare narration of the historical events that cease at the embarkation in the ports of Acadia, or by giving only a passing thought to the inevitable anguish of this expatriation, that one can realize the extent of the misfortune which fell so heavily on this people. Where history stops, there the field is opened to the poet or the novelist. From the mute crosses planted along their route he restores and recomposes the life of this stricken nation; he brings vividly before us their peaceful happiness, their hopes, their virtues and their misfortunes. From these crumbs dropped by the historian there have risen works that honor humanity and elevate it by tender sympathy with the humiliations into which miscreants had plunged their fellowmen. As long as history, as long as the human race lives, so long will the beautiful poem of *Evangeline* and the name of Longfellow live in the memory of men.

I had intended to reconstruct the hitherto obscure

story of the deportation, following the exiles step by step in their successive and repeated migrations, in their efforts to gather together and find a secure asylum, where they might again enjoy the quiet and comfort of former days, far from the din of arms, far from conflicts occasioned by the cupidity and ambition of men and nations ; but, I must confess, I have not the heart to do so. I long to withdraw far from these painful remembrances, from a subject that would throw a gloomy pall over my life by renewing wounds that cannot heal. Besides, it is too late, because there is nothing but distant tradition to build upon. What was possible thirty years ago, when the then existing generation had its mind replete with these recollections, is hardly possible at the present time. I shall restrict myself, therefore, to a short sketch of the principal facts, rather with a view to completing my task than in order to throw more light on the subject.

The researches of Rameau, in recent years, bear especially upon the wanderings of the Acadians after their deportation, and their grouping here and there, in France, in Louisiana, in Canada and in the maritime Provinces. He follows these groups from place to place, gives their exact or approximate number, describes the foundation and progress of their different colonies, etc., etc. He has rescued from oblivion many important facts, and his painstaking labors have made his name very dear to the descendants of this unfortunate people. For the present, at any rate, in order to the completeness of my work, I will give, in the next two or three chapters, a summary of the information furnished by Rameau, Casgrain and Smith on this topic ; after which I will enlarge on their researches and enter into a field

hitherto unexplored. The feelings and opinions of those who will guide me through the subsequent chapters are immaterial. The climax of the tragedy is past; its consequences alone remain to be considered. Those who have had the patience to collect these facts deserve credit for their pains. The result, however, is often a mere matter of statistics, the sole object of which is to satisfy a praiseworthy curiosity. Quite different is the tenor of my preceding chapters; there, I have been very circumspect in the choice of authorities; I have sifted the character, the interests, the sentiments, the motives of the actors in the events and of those who related them. Rameau is by far the most complete of all the writers on the questions of which I have just treated; his character is above all reproach, his quotations are always sure and correct; he is often very severe to the French. However, as his patriotism is ardent, I have refrained from having recourse to his opinions on essential points and have sought to go deeply into questions that he has only lightly touched upon because they were obscure and supported by scanty evidence. For instance, the part played by Le Loutre and his influence on events were considerable: it cannot be denied that his conduct was irritating to the English and on more than one head unjustifiable; it was equally so to the Acadians; by his intrigues he intensified the national hatred and may have roused in Lawrence's mind the idea of the deportation; without him, without his repeated provocations, in spite of the perversity of the despot who effected this deportation, it would have been impossible. It is true that all the information we possess on the deeds and character of this fiery abbé is drawn entirely from two questionable, not to say, con-

temptible sources. Between the traitor Pichon and the author of the "Mémoires," it was indeed difficult to form well-grounded opinions. However, the rôle of Le Loutre was too important to be ignored. I cannot help thinking that the proper course was, not utterly to reject those two authorities, but so to utilize them as to arrive at a fairly satisfactory estimate of the truth. That is what I have done, and I should have had no fault to find with Parkman, if he had exercised discretion and prudence in his use of those questionable sources, if he had given them, not full credit, as he has done, but only a secondary importance, and especially if, wherever he quoted them, he had shown clearly who and what Pichon was, and what was the unmistakable animus of the author of the "Mémoires."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Acadians in Pennsylvania, in the Carolinas, at Boston and in Maryland.

THE number of Acadians that landed at different places in the United States is only approximately known. With the exception of Boston, where nearly 2,000 were put ashore, only a small number were left in other northern ports. Connecticut received for its share 800, New York 200. The remainder were distributed in Pennsylvania, Maryland, the Carolinas and Georgia. Lawrence had executed his project so hurriedly that he had not even asked leave of the various governors before shipping the exiles to the provinces they governed. He had thought it his interest to transport them as far as possible and to separate them in as many groups as he could ; but he had to reckon with the good-will of these governors. Boston had the disadvantage of being too near ; yet there at least he could hope much from the complaisance of the governor, who was aware of his projects ; however, there as everywhere else, discontent was prevalent.

Whether it were for want of lodging, or because people did not wish to be burdened with them, objections were everywhere made to their landing, they were everywhere looked upon as dangerous to the public welfare. The prejudices against all that pertained to Catholicism had reached such a degree of intensity in

all classes of society, that amazement seizes upon any one who now reads the memoirs and public documents of that time. The astonishment that this reading produces must, I do not doubt, be felt nowadays by all those who give themselves up to these studies, whether they be or not the sons of those who shared in these ridiculous alarms. There was no machination, however unreasonable it might be, of which a Catholic would not be supposed guilty. This handful of inoffensive people, who had been so when they held in their grasp the fate of Acadia, now crushed by misfortune, without arms, without money, caused an inconceivable disquietude as though the safety of the country was seriously endangered. This was more than enough to extinguish benevolence and to drive to acts of cruelty a nation naturally generous and hospitable. Such was the case at Boston, at Philadelphia, and in most places where fate cast the Acadians.

At Philadelphia, where on November 19th arrived three ships laden with exiles, the captains received orders to withdraw from the port. "Governor Morris," says Philip H. Smith, "was thrown into a terrible alarm," and on the very day that these boats arrived he wrote to Governor Shirley :

"Two vessels are arrived here with upwards of 800 Neutral French from Nova Scotia, whom Governor Lawrence has sent to remain in this Province, and I am at a very great loss to know what to do with them. The people here, as there is no military force of any kind, are very uneasy at the thought of having a number of enemies scattered in the very bowels of the country, who may go off from time to time with intelligence, and join their countrymen now employed against us, or foment some intestine commotion with the Irish and German Catholics, in this and the neighboring Province. I, therefore, must beg your particular

instructions in what manner I may best dispose of these people. I have, in the meantime, put a guard out of the recruiting parties now in town, on board of each vessel, etc., etc."

Jonathan Belcher, chief justice of New Jersey, father of Jonathan Belcher, chief justice of Nova Scotia and Lawrence's counsellor, was even more exaggerated in his ridiculous apprehensions. Writing to Governor Morris, shortly afterwards, he expressed himself thus: "I am truly surprised how it could ever enter the thoughts of those who had the ordering of the French Neutrals, or rather traitors and rebels to the Crown of Great Britain, to direct any of them into these Provinces, where we have already too great a number of foreigners for our own good and safety. I think they should have been transported to old France, and I entirely coincide with Your Honor that these people would readily join with the Irish Papists, etc., etc., to the ruin and destruction of the King's Colonies, and should any attempt to land here (Elizabethtown), I should think it my duty to the King and to his good people under my care to do all in my power to crush an attempt."

Smith, after having cited other examples showing the extent of the prejudices, adds: "Were it not that these accounts are fully substantiated by incontrovertible evidence, they could scarcely be credited, so strangely do they sound since national prejudice and religious intolerance have been dissipated before the light of knowledge and the benign influence of the Gospel."

On November 24th, Governor Morris addressed a message to the House of Representatives of the State, declaring that he did not judge it prudent to allow the exiles to debark, but that he had given orders to land some of

them on Province Island, since a contagious malady had broken out on one of these boats.

What could these unfortunate people hope from so fanatic a population? Some citizens of Philadelphia were shameless enough to propose to have them sold as slaves. The Acadians rose up with all the pride and indignation of their French blood, and protested by petitions against this criminal project, which was never carried out. Fortunately, the honor of Pennsylvania was redeemed by many leading men, who were moved at so much woe. Of this number, I must not forget the philanthropic Antoine Bénézet. A grandson of exiles, expelled, as the Acadians were, from fatherland, he laid aside his natural feelings of rancor to consider only the sufferings to which they were a prey, as had been his own ancestors before them. He devoted himself to their solace with a touching solicitude, and greatly contributed to alleviate their sorrows. More highly favored than their companions deported elsewhere, they had the happiness to fall in with Father Hardy, a sympathizing and devoted missionary, who afforded them spiritual consolation and courage to support their afflictions more patiently. But, says Casgrain, they had become as plants torn from the soil; they could no longer revive. More than half died shortly after their arrival. Homesickness killed as many of them as hardships did; like Antores of old, they expired with their eyes turned toward their native land:

Et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos.

The minutes of the local Assembly contain the following passage: "Anthony Bénézet, attending without, was called in and informed the House, that he had, at the

request of some of the members, visited the French Neutrals now on board sundry vessels in the river, near the city, and found that they were in a great need of blankets, shirts, stockings, and other necessities; and he then withdrew, (Whereupon) Resolved, That this House will allow such reasonable expenses as the said Bénézet may be put to in furnishing the Neutral French now in the Province."

After many interviews and hesitations, the landing was at last authorized. As many of these unfortunate persons had been on board the boats for nearly three months, it is easy to conceive how this overcrowding in the holds of overladen vessels, together with their grief, with the fatigues of the sea, and with coarse food altogether unfit for their condition, must have affected the health of these people and contributed to this dreadful mortality.

During their first two months of captivity, after landing, they received from the Legislature and from private charity as much as their situation required. Their first petition to the Legislature ends thus: "Blessed be God that it was our lot to be sent to Pennsylvania, where our wants have been relieved, and we have, in every respect, been treated with Christian benevolence and charity."

But this was not to continue for any length of time. Charity soon wearies of prolonged assistance. The Acadians wished to be restored to liberty in order to go and join their compatriots somewhere else, or to be deported whither it would be judged best, provided it were to France or one of her colonies, or in fine, if none of these proposals could be accepted, they asked as a last resort to be treated as prisoners of war. To pro-

vide against the mishap of being left to their own resources, as was threatened, they drew up a petition to the Legislature, ending thus: "If this, our humble request, should be refused, and our wives and children be suffered to perish before our eyes, how grievous will this be! Had we not better have died in our native land? (See Appendix No. III.)

Their request was, however, to pass unheeded. The Legislature decided that all who were able to work should be distributed throughout the Province, "to give them an opportunity of exercising their own labor and industry."

This resolution struck the exiles with consternation. Reduced by deaths to 217 from 450 who left Grand Pré and Port Royal, their affliction knew no bounds. Those wives, those husbands, those children who were going to be separated anew, protested with hot indignation against such cruel measures. Rather die together than be separated again, said they. We will work, if we can take heart to do so; but we must remain together. Lands, tools, etc., etc., were offered them; but all these offers which involved separation were energetically rejected. Those who decided to accept work in rural districts were not themselves accepted: "The prejudice entertained at that day against those of another religion, prevented the employment of such of the Neutrals as were willing to work." "Many of us," says one of their petitions, "have had neither bread nor meat for many weeks together, and have been obliged to pilfer and steal for the support of life."

This new appeal to charity, and, still more perhaps, this avowal of pilfering to appease their hunger, hurried upon the exiles what they dreaded most—separation.

The Legislature decided to take charge of the old men, the sick and infirm, but obliged the parents to give up those of their children who were under age to the service of private families.

Their petitions, with a view to avert the execution of this decision, bear witness that the blow it dealt them was the most cruel they had to bear. They again begged for liberty; but their touching entreaties were to be answered only by the angel of death. Despairing of obtaining anything from the provincial government, they made a last effort and appealed to the sovereign himself. This appeal, reproduced entire at the end of this volume, is simple and touching; it bears the stamp of deep conviction, and is well-nigh irresistible. This document is the defence of the Acadians drawn up by themselves. As it is the only one of its kind in this *ex parte* cause, the most elementary fairness should have induced the Compiler of the archives to insert it in his volume alongside of the letters of Pichon, etc., etc. He must have seen it, since it is found entire in Haliburton.

The remnant of these Neutrals, in Philadelphia, occupied in Pine Street a row of small wooden houses, long known by the name of "Neutral Huts." They were gradually dying out, when in the spring of 1757 there arrived at Philadelphia one of the highest dignitaries ever sent by Great Britain to this colony, Lord Loudon, commander-in-chief of the English armies in America, he who was derisively called by the citizens of Halifax, the hero of the *cabbage planting expedition*.* Lord

* "Not only his military skill, but his courage and integrity were questioned. It is, therefore, not surprising to learn that the multitude shouted at the news of his being recalled to England," (*Murdoch, Hist. of N. S.* vol. ii. p. 315.)

Loudun stayed only a few days in Philadelphia, where his passage gave rise to public feasts and ovations; still, he sojourned there long enough to show that his high position did not shield him from the vulgar prejudices of his time. He had the exact number of the Catholic population of Pennsylvania made out for him, in order to provide against the terrible dangers of a papist conspiracy. According to Father Hardy's statement, this population barely amounted to 2,000 souls divided between English, Irish and Germans.

The Acadians counted at that time for so little that the missionary did not think it worth while to mention their names in this report.

It would seem that nothing but pity could be felt for this sad remnant, whose poverty was at this moment so extreme that the Assembly itself, which had hitherto treated them harshly, was moved to pass an act recommending them to the public officers, "in order," as it said, "to prevent them from dying of hunger."

The traitor Pichon, who, since the deportation was residing at Halifax, happened then, it seems, to be passing through Philadelphia. Before going to enjoy in London the fruit of his treachery, he wished to have the importance of his services recognized by a man of Lord Loudun's high station. As a French officer, pretending to be a prisoner like the Acadians, feigning to commiserate their misfortune, it was easy for him thus to gain the confidence of these unfortunate persons who thirsted after consolation. The result of his interviews was the arrest of Charles Le Blanc, Jean-Baptiste Galerne,* Philippe Melançon, Paul Bujeauld and Jean Landry, "as being badly-intentioned persons who had proffered threatening

* See in *Appendix* petition of Jean-Baptiste Galerne, No. IV.

words against His Majesty." I must not omit that the Acadians at the arrival of Loudun had presented to him a petition embodying their grievances. This document was in French: "I returned it," he wrote, "and said I would receive no memorial from the King's subjects but in English, on which they had a general meeting at which they determined they would give no memorial but in French."

This refusal to consider their petition because it was in French may have caused discontent; but it is very probable that there was nothing more than discontent. Without form of trial, relying on the report of Pichon, whose previous history was well known to Loudun, since he recounts it himself to the Minister, these unfortunate people were snatched away from their families already so sorely tried, were placed on board war vessels and banished again.

No one knows the subsequent fate of these wretched beings, guilty of having raised their voices in the name of their companions of exile and of having dared to express themselves in the French tongue, the only one they could then speak. They probably went to swell the number of those families that could never afterwards be reunited.

Thenceforth, every complaint was looked upon as an offence, and there remained no other resource but to die in silence; and, indeed, never, since that moment, has there been found any trace of complaint or expostulation from these unhappy people.

The last official record that concerns them has all the sadness of an epitaph; it is a petition of an undertaker, addressed in 1766 to the Legislature, and worded as follows:

"A petition from John Hill, of the city of Philadelphia, joiner, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioner has been employed from time to time to provide coffins for the French Neutrals who have died in and about this city, and had had his accounts regularly allowed and paid by the Government until lately; that he is informed by the gentlemen commissioners, who used to pay him, that they have no public money in their hands for the payments of such debts: that he has made sixteen coffins since their last settlement, without any countermand of his former order. He, therefore, prays the House to make such provisions for his materials and labor in the premises as to them shall seem meet.

Order to lie on the table."*

*The author of this work can trace several of his relations who were with this band of exiles, among others, the notary René Le Blanc; Etienne Hébert, brother of his ancestor Honoré Hébert, who, separated from all his relations, had entered the service of an army officer; Tranquille Le Prince, who died before seeing again his relatives.

There was also, but not related to the author, one Charles Le Blanc, who died there about 1828, an old bachelor with considerable property. He was about 12 years old when deported there; his parents and his only sister, younger than he, were deported elsewhere and finally settled at St. Grégoire P. Q. The destruction of the Acadian archives, by order of Lawrence, made it impossible for Charles Le Blanc's sister and her heirs to prove their relationship to him, so that their efforts to secure his property were fruitless. It is yet held by the city of Philadelphia and is said to be of great value.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The Acadians in South Carolina, Georgia, etc.

LAMENTABLE as was the fate of the Acadians at Philadelphia, we have reason to believe it was just as bad elsewhere, and much worse in some places. The State Legislature, it is true, was often merciless towards them ; but private charity, stimulated by the generous efforts of good Mr. Bénétzet, came to their succor with a most praiseworthy solicitude. Even as regards the Legislature, we have proof that on several occasions it helped them effectually. It is precisely owing to this fact that we are better informed concerning this group of exiles than concerning others that were numerically much more important. Philadelphia was a pretty considerable centre even at that time. If the assistance tendered to only 450 persons and soon to less than half that number, appeared so onerous, and was the occasion of so many petitions to the Legislature, we can well imagine what must have been the misery and mortality of the groups of exiles in Maryland, Virginia, Carolina and Georgia, where the climate was so fatal to people from the North. They numbered about 4,000 in three or four places. Public and private charity became powerless to afford assistance to so many ; and that is probably why some governors of these Provinces did not seek to retain them.

The 1,500 Acadians who disembarked in South

Carolina were at first distributed among the settlements; but the authorities were soon moved by their cruel fate, and furnished them, at the expense of the State, with ships to enable them to go elsewhere.

A memorial written in 1762 recounts in the following terms the adventures that befell a band of Acadians who had set out from South Carolina:

"The inhabitants gave them two old vessels, a small quantity of very poor provisions and permission to go where they wished. Having embarked in vessels that were riddled with leaks, they were soon stranded on the coast of Virginia near Hampton, an Irish colony. They were first taken for enemies coming to plunder, afterwards for pirates, and at last for dangerous guests to be got rid of immediately. They were forced to buy a vessel; and, as all the money they could collect amongst themselves amounted to "four hundred pieces of eight," this was the price they had to pay. This ship was still less seaworthy than those they had just left, and they had all the difficulty in the world to run aground a second time on the coast of Maryland. It would be unfair to forget to say here that one of the magistrates of Virginia, having learnt the perfidy with which these unfortunate people had been treated, caused the inhabitants of the village of Hampton to be punished, and sent a boat for the Acadians to get them to return and acquaint them with the condition of their vessel. The remains of their shipwreck were then the only resource they had, and they spent two months on a desert island repairing this vessel. They finally succeeded, and after having once more put to sea for the third time, they had the good fortune to reach the Bay of Fundy, where they landed near St. John River, reduced to nine hundred from having been over two thousand at their departure from Acadia." *

Georgia, as is known, had been founded to serve as a refuge to the unfortunate; but it was declared in the charter that no Roman Catholic could settle there; so

* *Archives des affaires étrangères*, Paris. *Memoires de M. de la Rochette*. The number given above, i. e., nine hundred on a vessel of apparently small tonnage, is surely greatly exaggerated.

that, as soon as the Acadians arrived, Governor Reynolds decreed their banishment. With his authorization, they constructed roughly-made boats. In the hope of seeing again their native country, or at least of removing from a climate which made so many victims among them, they trusted themselves to the mercy of the waves. Thanks to incredible courage and perseverance some were able to reach New York and even Massachusetts: but an order from the pitiless Lawrence stopped them; their boats were confiscated or destroyed, and they themselves were again thrown into captivity.*

Others traversing the immense wilderness that separated them from the Gulf of Mexico, were able at last to reach the Mississippi and then Louisiana by paddling down the great stream that leads thither,

“Far down the Beautiful River.” *Longfellow.*

They thought they were bidding an eternal farewell to their beloved country, to their kinsfolk and friends cast on other shores; but at least in this isolated place they could hope for a safe asylum against new persecutions; it was still better to combat the elements and the climate than to expose themselves to the fury of a tyrant. Their lot, sad as it was, certainly was preferable to that of their countrymen who exposed themselves anew to the cruelty of Lawrence. The number of those who took refuge in this asylum was at first inconsiderable. How could severed families make up their minds to flee in a direction which removed them still farther from their relatives that were cast on the shores of New England, or had taken refuge in the forests of

*Stevens' *History of Georgia*, Vol. I., pp. 413, 417.

New Brunswick? Yet the sequel proved that their determination was much the wiser. True, they were neither better nor worse off than the others as to the sundering of families; but in a very few years they could, in this luxuriant region, regain a decent livelihood and enjoy the liberty and tranquillity that were so long wanting to so many others. From 1765 to 1788, and especially from 1780 to 1788, they were reinforced by about 8,000 compatriots who arrived from San Domingo, Guiana, the ports of New England, and particularly from France.

The first colony was founded on the Mississippi itself near Baton Rouge; but those who came to join them pushed their settlements into the interior to the Attakapas and Opelousas, where they formed important and prosperous groups. There they have devoted their attention chiefly to the raising of cattle in large herds; they have preserved their customs, traditions and language with a fidelity that makes them recognizable at sight. They number to-day about 40,000.

Several of their descendants have won their way to high positions: for instance, Alexandre Mouton sat for some time in the senate of the United States, became Governor of Louisiana and was president of the convention which decreed the secession of the Southern States. His son, General Mouton, was killed at the head of his regiment, wholly composed of Acadians, during the war of secession. Mr. Poché, also an Acadian, is at present, if I am well informed, chief-justice of this State.*

*The names that occur most frequently in this Acadian colony are: Hébert, Thibaudeau, Landry, Roy, Cormier, Doucet, Thériau, Breaux, Le Blanc, Arseneau, Richard, Mouton, Comeau, Préjean, Brassard, Gaudet, Blanchard, Guillebault, Bourgeois, Gotreau, Martin, Bobichaud, Daigle.

In the south the Acadians were generally treated with humanity; but it was not always so in the Provinces of New England. Those especially were treated mercilessly who, on their return from Carolina and Georgia, wished to obtain provisions in the ports of Connecticut and Massachusetts.

In 1756 a band of 78 exiles succeeded, after a thousand privations, in building a small vessel. Having set out from Carolina in the spring-time, they had at length passed New York. While stopping in a cove of Long Island to get water and provisions, they were seized by order of the governor, Sir Charles Hardy, although they had passports signed by the governors of Carolina and Georgia; they were banished into the interior of the province in several remote villages, where the magistrates were ordered to provide work for the adults, and to get possession of the children in order "to turn them into good and useful subjects," that is to say, into Protestants. All these children were accordingly severed from their parents and distributed in the counties of Westchester and Orange.

The lot of these unfortunate people was already cruel enough, it would seem, to enlist sympathy and kindness. Was it not enough to have been expelled from their country, stripped of all their goods, separated from their relations and flung upon a burning soil where disease had sown death and mourning? Had they not endured enough privations and labor in order to build themselves a vessel with which to sail away from that fatal climate? Had they not borne the hardships of a laborious and painful voyage? And, after all these multiplied afflictions, had they not to bear separation among strangers to their creed, their language and

their habits? Yet all this was not enough. The tranquillity of Lawrence was troubled by these migrations. In the following year an order was issued to throw them into prison, and, as Gilmary Shea relates, this decree was carried out all along the coast from Richmond northward.

Before such an accumulation of sufferings and outrages inflicted on a peaceable and unarmed population, which had never given any occasion for severity at a time when it held in its hands the destinies of its country, one feels a pang of heartrending grief, forcing to the lips a cry of inexpressible anguish, with which are unconsciously mingled words of malediction. Has ever a shipwrecked crew, fallen among the fiercest islanders of Oceania, been forced to endure so many moral tortures as fell to the lot of these poor victims of a tyrant's oppression? And this took place in a civilized country, eighteen centuries after the foundation of christianity and the coming of Him whose greatest teaching was charity and the love of one's neighbor; this occurred on the eve of a revolution in the name of liberty. Slow indeed is the evolution that must lead mankind to understand and practise the true spirit which constitutes the essence of christianity. What wonder that unrest dwells in men's minds, that they are asking themselves if our social status be not the obstacle that prevents the full development of the pure Christian spirit?

This latter end of the nineteenth century thinks it has attained a high degree of civilization. Are we very sure of it? We may answer by pointing to our material progress, our inventions, our discoveries of all kinds; but that is, at best, a proof of ingenuity; our age is, of course, pre-eminently ingenious. But what of the ex-

pansion and progress of the true Christian spirit, wherein is necessarily found the only true civilization?

We have societies for the prevention of cruelty to the brute beast; but man, the moral being, who suffers even when his body does not suffer or long after the body has ceased to suffer, who suffers because he has a soul that feels keenly and forgets slowly, is he, I ask, protected more than, or even as much as, the brute? Society has acted fairly with the brute; has it done so with man? Hardly. Nor is it surprising that this anomaly should provoke a certain restlessness that is inclined to attack the foundations of society as if the fault lay in their very structure.

But let me continue this sad tale. I want to be generous and should like to suppose, for the honor of humanity, that the local authorities obeyed orders it would have been imprudent to disobey, or, perhaps, that these barbarous deeds were the inevitable consequence of the first act of this tragedy; but I find nowhere the justification I am looking for. Lawrence, who had acted without orders, had not himself the right to give any to these governors, especially for such odious measures; and, nothing in the history or accounts of the times points to a single act of insubordination or resistance by force of arms on the part of these exiles.

In July of the same year seven small vessels, bearing ninety exiles, were sailing along the south coast of Massachusetts. They also were arrested at their entrance into port and dispersed by the local authorities, who seized their passports.

The following year some of those who had been confined in the county of Westchester succeeded in escaping and endeavored to reach the frontier of Canada; but

they were arrested at Fort Edward and again condemned to captivity. These attempts at escape might easily have been prevented, if Acadian families had been allowed to live in groups, or, at least, if the members of the same family had been allowed to live together. By separation and harsh treatment they were driven to flight.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Acadians at Boston ; in Virginia ; these latter are not allowed to land ; they are sent to England—Frightful mortality—One of the ships destined for Philadelphia is lost at sea ; two others are driven by storm on the island of San Domingo ; a fourth is saved by the Acadians and stranded near St. John River—Inhabitants of Cape Sable attacked.

LAWRENCE must have hoped that the population of Boston and Massachusetts, whose interests were on many points identified with those of Nova Scotia and whose sons had helped to carry out the sentence of expulsion, would be eager to favor his projects ; there, however, as elsewhere, the arrival of the exiles provoked serious objections. For several days the fleet remained in the roadstead with its human freight, awaiting the result of official deliberations.

“Here, as in Philadelphia,” says Philip H. Smith, “a Roman Catholic was held as one of the worst of foes to society. There was likelihood, too, that they would become a charge to the public, and it was some time before the authorities could bring themselves to decide on turning a thousand of these creatures loose on society. The suffering of the captives detained on board the vessels, is said to have been dreadful. One Hutchinson (afterwards Governor of Massachusetts), who visited them on board, wrote an account of a case particularly distressing. He found a woman in a dying state from the foul atmosphere and uncomfortable quarters, but

the regulations did not admit of her removal. Three small children were with her, requiring a mother's care. To save her life, Hutchinson had her conveyed to a house on shore, contrary to orders, at his own risk, where the poor widow was made comfortable. But distress had wrought too great havoc in her frame to admit of recovery; she wasted away and left her little ones without a protector; but, just before she died, she besought her benefactor 'to ask the Governor, in the name of their common Saviour, to let her children remain in the place where she died.' "

Finally the debarkation was authorized; the captives were placed temporarily in barracks erected on the common, and then distributed in the towns and villages of Massachusetts.

"At first," says again the same author, "they set up the claim that they were prisoners of war, and refused to work, but, subsequently, became an industrious element. There was one great difficulty attending their employment, and that was the prejudice of the people against the admission of a papist into their families. The Neutrals here do not appear to have been received with the considerate kindness their brethren were so fortunate as to experience in Philadelphia. They were not permitted to go from one town to another, and, if taken without a passport from two selectmen, they were to be imprisoned five days, or whipped ten lashes, or perhaps both. By this treatment, as useless as it was cruel, members of families were kept separated from their friends and from each other. The meagre records of those times show that numerous petitions were sent, and advertisements were constantly circulated to find lost relatives; it being a feature peculiar to their case, that

they were left in the most distressing doubt as to the fate of those nearest and dearest to them. In the midst of so much distress and fanaticism, the unwelcomed Gallo-Acadians were subjected to the most rigid surveillance; there was no deed so dark but they were believed to be capable of performing; and every species of crime committed in the vicinity, the perpetrators of which were unknown, was attributed with one consent to the papists.

"A petition from one town on the coast asks to have the Neutrals removed to the interior, as they have a powder-house there, and were afraid they would blow them up. The student of human nature finds in this another illustration of the power that education and prejudice exert over the judgment of men. The Acadians themselves refer to this view entertained towards them by the English: that of being addicted to pillage and other warlike exploits. In one of their memorials they advance, as a reason that they could not have possessed the belligerent characteristics attributed to them, the fact that it was the absence of these qualities that enabled the English to obtain such unlimited power over them; otherwise, several thousand Acadians never would have submitted to a handful of English soldiers."

Several cases of abuse and cruelty are cited by Mrs. Williams,* Smith and Hutchinson, the historian of Massachusetts; and these cases were so notorious that the legislature of the State enacted laws to guard against their recurrence. But, of all their sorrows, that which wrung from them the bitterest complaints in their written appeals was the sundering of families.

* *French Neutrals*.—By Mrs. Williams, Boston.

"It is too evident," says the historian Hutchinson, "that this unfortunate people had much to suffer from poverty and bad treatment, even after they had been adopted by Massachusetts. The different petitions addressed to Governor Shirley, about this time, are heart-rending." He tried to copy some of them from the archives of the Secretary of State; but he was so blinded by tears, as he tells us, that he had to stop.

Parkman must have found the tears of this writer and the sentimentality of Longfellow, both countrymen of his, most ridiculous. He must have had these two eminent men in his mind's eye, when he wrote: "New England humanitarianism, melting into sentimentality at a tale of woe, has been unjust to its own." To what acts of injustice this sentimentality may have conducted, it is difficult to see, and Parkman does not explain. Perhaps he means to hint that the harsh treatment of the exiles was just. If so, this hint is merely a fresh specimen of his "silken brutality." For myself, and many others, this sentimentality which is based on so many reasonable motives, and is so much in keeping with facts, is the most beautiful eulogium that can be addressed to his fellow-countrymen. On the contrary, I look upon as despicable the man who, to all appearance, has knowingly falsified history in order to prevent others from entertaining sentiments which he himself could not or did not wish to feel. Parkman preferred novelty and audacity to the monotony of beaten paths. The public may like novelty; but in history, truth always ends by ensuring permanence to the labors of those who make themselves its defenders. Sooner or later the clay-footed statue which Parkman raised for himself will crumble never to rise again.

In this fairly harmonious concert, in favor of a people unjustly oppressed, it is easy to forget Parkman's discordant voice, and to remember only those distinguished men who have made Boston the metropolis of the intellect, the warm-heartedness and the knowledge of this continent.*

I have reason to believe, from current tradition, that the cases of ill-treatment of the Acadians became less and less frequent in Massachusetts. Their peaceable and virtuous habits succeeded in entirely dispelling the prejudices aroused by their first arrival. Disdain and cruelty gave way, with the better classes, to a benevolent solicitude which was manifested generally enough to cast into shade the wrongs to which they were still subjected in certain places and in certain classes of society. Their heaviest burdens could be lifted off, and so they were; but nothing could console them for their separation nor teach them to take kindly to their irremediable misfortunes.

Strange irony of human affairs! This little people had been overwhelmed with woe on the simple pretext of disloyalty; and the last Acadians had no sooner quitted Boston than the standard of revolt was hoisted over this same town. And, stranger still, this same people, who had been the warders of these pretended rebels, eagerly welcomed the soldiers of France, while those who would not be disloyal to their English sovereign, were going into exile and taking refuge on the lands of these same Acadians.

"Washington had scarcely appeared in the Revolu-

¹ I have it on excellent authority, that Haliburton, in his private conversations, stigmatized, much more severely than he does in his history, the conduct of Lawrence towards the Acadians. It was he, I am also informed, who inspired Longfellow and suggested to him the idea of writing "Evangeline."

tionary Camp at Boston," says Smith, "when he found preparations being made for burning the Pope in effigy. His memorable order of November 5th had the effect of putting an end to the custom of "insulting the religion" of brethren and co-workers. When the French fleet arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, to aid the cause of the colonists, the Legislature made all haste to repeal a law on her statute book, forbidding a Roman Catholic to put foot upon her soil under pain of death. At Boston, a funeral procession traversed the streets, with a crucifix at its head and priests solemnly chanting, while the selectmen of Puritan Boston joined in the ceremony, giving this public mark of respect to the faith of their allies."

Virginia opposed a most energetic resistance to the landing of the 1,500 Acadians whom Lawrence cast on the coasts of this Province. Neither disease, which was making frightful havoc among this crowd of human beings huddled together in the holds of dreadfully overladen ships, nor any other consideration, could decide the Virginians to accept the burden which Lawrence imposed on them. They addressed to the authorities such vigorous protests that all these exiles, after having waited several weeks on board their vessels, were told to set sail for England.

We know not how many of these 1,500 died before reaching the ports of England; but, considering that half of those who were transported to Philadelphia succumbed on the way, and that the mortality elsewhere was also very considerable; considering that the sojourn on the boats bound for England was three or four times longer than on those that went only as far as New England, we are justified in supposing the death-list to

have been a very long one. Moreover, we have some exact figures tending to show that in 1763, eight years later, in spite of the births, the number of exiled Acadians in England was then reduced one-third since their arrival in that country. I think it no exaggeration to say that, at the time of the treaty of peace in 1763, the original 1,500 were reduced to less than 500.*

This fact gives us a glimpse of the woe-begone condition of this ill-fated people, thus driven from all coasts and tossed about on the sea, not knowing where they could go to suffer and die. What a lamentable situation for poor mothers separated from their husbands, for children separated from their parents, or even for heads of families, comfortable and peaceable farmers, who had never quitted their villages, where but lately they dwelt in happiness, now flung into mid-ocean, alone, stripped of everything, torn from their wives and children by order of Lawrence or by death, surrounded by enemies, without future, without hope! If, at least, after eight years of exile they had found peace and what remained of their decimated families; but their whole life was spent in often fruitless researches in the West Indies, in Louisiana, on the coasts of New England, in Canada and in the maritime provinces, etc., etc.†

Longfellow, in spite of all his ability to produce a

* *Mémoire* of M. de la Rochette.

Also the declarations of the Acadians who settled at Belle-Isle-en-Mer. The French Government, at the solicitation of Abbé Le Loutre, who had returned from his captivity at Jersey, granted morsels of land in this island to 77 Acadian families. All the heads of families were called upon to declare before the authorities their line of descent from the first founder of each family in Acadia down to the present time. These declarations, which form a pretty large manuscript, contain valuable information, and give a very clear idea of the mortality at sea and of the sundering of families.

† My great-grandmother Le Prince (Rosalie Bourg), referred to elsewhere, was five years old at the time of the deportation. Her sister, born at sea,

lasting impression and narrate forcibly, has not succeeded in painting the full extent of the blow that struck the most afflicted families. It is a case of noble poetry falling short of the reality, and by many it is thought that he has failed to render the dramatic force suggested by the tragedy. The fate of Evangeline is far from equalling in sadness and tragic force that of many other young girls, separated, not only from their betrothed, as she was, but also from their parents.

Of the twenty and odd ships, that carried the Acadians away into the ports of New England, four never reached their destination. Of those destined for Philadelphia, one perished at sea with its cargo of captives, two others were tossed about by the winds and driven to San Domingo, where the prisoners were left. Another ship, containing 226 Acadians from Port Royal, among whom were found persons with the names Boudreau, Dugas, Guillebault, Richard, Bourgeois, Doucet, Landry, was captured by the exiles which it bore. They were pursued and attacked by one of the convoys that accompanied the fleet; but after a slight encounter of no consequence they were able to get away and land at St. John River, where they met a considerable band of fugitives, who had escaped the deportation.

Here is how Casgrain relates this moving adventure :

“ While the transports were sailing under a fair wind on the Bay of Fundy, an Acadian of Port Royal, named Beaulieu, an old master mariner, having asked the captain of the ship whither he was going to conduct them :

was bereft of reason, and her mother, undermined by grief, died a few years later. Though my great-grandmother was gifted with a great mind and was habitually very gay, still the account of these misfortunes had the effect of plunging her into such profound sadness that all allusion to these events was carefully shunned by the family.

“‘To the first desert island I shall meet,’ replied he insolently, ‘that’s all that French papists, as you are, deserve.’

“Quite beside himself, Beaulieu, who was of much more than ordinary strength, dealt him a blow with his fist that stretched him flat on the deck. This was a signal for the other captives. Though unarmed, they rushed upon the guards, wounded some of them and put the rest *hors de combat*.

“Beaulieu then assumed the command of the transport and stranded it in the St. John River.”

There still remained a small band of Acadians in the peninsula at Cape Sable, at the southwestern extremity of Nova Scotia. This little colony was comprised in the barony of Pobomcoup, property of the d’Entremonts and partly inhabited by the numerous descendants of this family. Cut off from Halifax and other Acadian settlements, without means of communication except what navigation offered them, they had dwelt in as complete isolation as if they had inhabited a small island in the midst of the ocean. For more than a century they had lived there and managed their affairs as they thought proper, the administration paying no more attention to them than if they had not existed. They hardly knew of Lawrence’s persecutions and of the obligation to which he subjected the Acadians of the other parts of the Province in the matter of the oath. Thus, there assuredly was no motive for expelling these persons; they had not even been able to furnish the pretexts that Lawrence invented against those of Port Royal, Grand Pré and Beauséjour. These poor people, after the terrible calamity that had just befallen their brethren, could but wish to remain unmolested in their

retreat, either ignored as they were in the past or left in peace as insignificant. Had Lawrence spared this peaceable and isolated colony, this would have afforded a proof, not perhaps quite conclusive, but tending at least to show that his conduct was based on fairly defensible motives and guided by a certain sense of fitness.

It often takes a long time, with its repetition of misdeeds, before we can penetrate and realize all the malice of which those are capable with whom we are in daily contact. Often our penetration is at fault, and we are forced to extend the bounds of their depravity. These poor inhabitants of Cape Sable must have hoped that, being peaceable, never having given cause for ill-treatment, they would certainly be able to remain unmolested in their retreat. However it was not to be; Lawrence's cruelty had not yet reached its utmost bound. Before the end of the winter that followed the embarkation at Grand Pré and other places, he gave Major Prebble, then setting out with his regiment for Boston, the following order, which needs no comment:

"You are hereby required and directed to put into Cape Sable, or some of the adjacent harbors, (in your way to Boston), and, with the troops at your command, to land at the most convenient place; and to seize as many of the said inhabitants as possible, and carry them with you to Boston, where you will deliver them to His Excellency Governor Shirley, with a letter you will receive with this order. You are, at all events, to burn and destroy the houses of the said inhabitants, and carry off their utensils and cattle of all kinds, and make a distribution of them to the troops under your command as a reward for the performance of this service, and to destroy such things as cannot conveniently be carried off.

"Given under my hand and seal this 9th April, 1756.

"By His Excellency's command, CHAS. LAWRENCE."

"WM. COTTERELL."

This invitation to plunder, by greatly exciting the cupidity of the soldiery, could not fail to produce the desired effect: "April 23d," relates l'Abbé Desenclaves, an eye-witness, "a village was invested and taken; everything was burned and the live stock killed or seized. They tore away the scalp of one of the children of Joseph d'Entremont, after having plundered and burnt his house."

Shortly afterwards, Lawrence effected a new descent upon them, and the same scenes of havoc were repeated. This time they were able to seize a part of the inhabitants, and with them l'Abbé Desenclaves.

Those who had escaped these attacks were reduced to great distress. Their cattle being killed or taken from them, their houses burnt, their parents and brethren dragged into captivity, unable to put to sea in order to procure assistance for their families without running the risk of being taken, having no hope of human succor, they, no doubt, wished they had been carried off with the others.

No longer expecting any pity from Lawrence, and informed of the humane character of Mr. Pownall, the new Governor of Massachusetts, they addressed to him a petition, which clearly depicts the extreme destitution and abject misery in which they were:

"We, your humble petitioners, have taken this opportunity to write to you these few lines, hoping they will obtain the happy end for which they are designed, and we hope above all things that Your Excellency will have compassion on us, your poor distressed fellow-creatures, and grant to us this humble request that we earnestly implore of you, and that it might please Your Excellency to take us under your Government. And, if it might please you to settle us here in this land where we now live, we shall ever hold it our bounden duty to love and honor you with our last breath, and we shall assure

you that we are heartily willing to do whatever you require of us as far as we are able to perform. We are also willing to pay to Your Excellency's Government our yearly taxes ; we are also willing to support and maintain the war against the King of France as long as we live, and if ever any damage should be done here on our territories by the Savages, it shall be required at our hands. We are in all about forty families, which consist of about one hundred and fifty souls ; the Savages that live between here and Halifax do not exceed twenty men, and they are also willing to come under the same Government with us. . . . And, if we shall be so fortunate as to obtain so much friendship with Your Excellency as to be received into your Government, we will send in two men with a list of all our names, and the Savages will do likewise, and we will all submit to do whatever you require of us, and if any others should desert from elsewhere, Savages or French, and come to us, we will in no wise receive them unless they get from under Your Excellency's hand liberty so to do.

"And now to conclude, if we should be so unfortunate as to be denied this, our humble request, we will submit to Your Excellency's goodness to do with us whatever may seem good in your sight ; only this we beg, that, if we may no longer stay here, that we may be received in New England to live as the other Neutral French do, for we had all rather die here than go to any French dominion to live.

"We beg that Your Excellency will send us word what we shall do as soon as you can, and we will do it as soon as you send. And, if it be our hard fate to go away from here, we will obey Your Excellency and go, though it would be to us like departing out of this world.

"Dear sir, do for us what lays in your power to settle us here, and we will be your devoted subjects till death."

This petition was drawn up and taken to Boston by one Haskell, who had ventured to Cape Sable with the object of trading with the people there. Wishing to be of service to these unfortunates, but fearing arrest, he had this petition delivered by some one else. It was nevertheless traced to him ; he was arrested, but escaped conviction.

Pownall, moved at this cry of distress, communicated this petition to General Amherst, who was then at Bos-

ton. They consulted together on the best means of coming to their assistance. Amherst advised him to pay the expense of transporting them to Boston ; but one thing stopped them : these persons were under the government of Lawrence, and so they themselves had no right to decide their lot without his approbation. Pownall transmitted the petition to Lawrence and accompanied it with these remarks : . . . "As for the case of the poor people at Cape Sable, it seems very distressful and worthy any relief that can be afforded them. If policy could acquiesce in any measure for their relief, humanity loudly calls for it. I send you a copy of their petition, and in it the copy of the Journal of Council which I also enclose ; you will see that General Amherst was willing to relieve them, could it have been done here, but by the same you will see the Council could by no means advise me to receive them."

The only answer Lawrence gave was to dispatch a ship to Cape Sable. All the population that remained there was transported to Halifax, and, four months later, to England. New cruelties must have been committed there, since we find the proof thereof in a letter of General Amherst himself to Lawrence, signifying his disapprobation of such conduct. He pointed out a certain Captain Hazen as the principal guilty person, and added : "*I shall always disapprove of killing women and helpless children.*"

As soon as hostilities opened between France and England, Lawrence in a proclamation dated May 14th, 1756, declared : "We do hereby promise a reward of thirty pounds for every male Indian prisoner above the age of sixteen years brought in alive ; for a scalp of such male Indian twenty-five pounds, and twenty-five

pounds for every Indian woman or child brought in alive." *

However great might have been the exasperation provoked by the conduct of the Indians in time of war, this proclamation, which opened the campaign, was little calculated to soften the horrors of the coming war. It was not by surpassing these barbarians in their cruel customs that their manners would be chastened and the beneficent influence of Christianity extended to them. As to Lawrence, however, nothing can astonish us; under a civilized exterior he was still more barbarous than any savage, and, had he dared, he would have included in his enticing rewards the Acadians found armed. In point of fact the proclamation had the effect of making Acadian pass for Indian scalps. The greed of gain was going to give rise to frauds upon which Lawrence would complacently close his eyes. The following extract of a letter from Rev. Hugh Graham to Rev. Andrew Brown, dated 1791, gives the practical result of the proclamation :

"A party of Rangers of a regiment chiefly employed in scouring the country of the deluded Acadians who had unfortunately fallen under the ban of British policy, came upon four Acadians who had, with all possible caution, ventured out from their skulking retreats to pick some of the straggling cattle or hidden treasure. The solitary few, the pitiable four, had just sat down weary and faint on the banks of the desert stream in order to refresh themselves with some food and

* "It is imposible," says Murdoch, "to read the solemn orders for destroying and annihilating the homes and surroundings of our fellow-creatures—the forcible capture and removal of families—the rewards in money to the soldier for the scalp of an enemy, and many other proceedings of those in authority at this period, without strong sensations of pain and disgust. This brought into active play one of the lowest, meanest, and most brutalizing features of humanity—a miserable avarice—a thirst of gain to be acquired by cruelty, and spent most probably in the most degrading sensual pursuits. Nothing could be calculated to lower and disfigure the character of the soldier more than this appeal to his selfishness and his basest appetites."

rest, when a party of Rangers surprised and apprehended them, and, as there was a bounty on Indian scalps, a blot, too, on England's escutcheon, the soldiers soon made *the supplicating signal*, the *officers turned their backs*, and the Acadians were instantly shot and scalped. A party of the Rangers brought in one day *25 scalps, pretending* that they were Indians', and the commanding officer at the fort, then Colonel Wilmot, *afterwards Governor Wilmot (a poor tool)*, gave orders that the bounty should be paid them. Captain Huston, who had at that time the charge of the military chest, objected to such proceedings, both in the letter and spirit of them. The Colonel told him, *that according to law the French were all out of the country, that the bounty on Indian scalps was according to law, and that though the law might in some instances be strained a little, yet there was a necessity for winking at such things.*

"Upon account, Huston, in obedience to orders, paid down £250, telling: that the curse of God should ever attend such guilty deeds.

"A considerable large body of the French Neutrals were one time surprised by a party of Rangers on Petitcodiac river; upon the first alarm, most of them threw themselves into the river and swam across, and by this way the greater part of them made out to elude the clutches of these bloody hounds, though some of them were shot by the merciless soldiery in the river. It was observed that these Rangers, almost without exception, closed their days in wretchedness, and, particularly, a Captain Danks, who rode to the extreme of his commission in every barbarous proceeding. . . . He lived under a general dislike and died without any to regret his death."

This Rev. Hugh Graham was, like Dr. Brown, a contemporary of the events he describes. He was living in Nova Scotia at the very time, I think, of the deportation, and this was the reason why Brown applied to him for information. He seems to have been actuated by the same spirit as Brown, and, like him, he also judged severely the acts and authors of this tragedy,* as

* After the taking of Beausejour, where a large number of Acadians were made prisoners, while their families were being summoned to join them, with the threat that their houses would be burnt, some poor women were so cruelly flogged as to fall dead under the lash. (*Vaudreuil au Ministre*, Oct. 30th, 1755.)

About the same time a party of 14 Indians, of St. John River, having been surprised and captured, the soldiers amused themselves cutting them

have also done all his contemporaries that were in a position to pass an enlightened and impartial judgment thereon, or whose character was sufficiently elevated to be above religious or national prejudices.

I have furnished the reader with the means of judging Lawrence's character by the opinion that the citizens of Halifax entertained of him; we also have, in the foregoing, material for a sound estimate of that Colonel Wilmot who, a few years later, as Governor of the Province, was in his turn to oppress the Acadians.

The cabinet of London, which, as we have seen, had been thrown into great alarm at the discovery of the poorly-disguised projects of Lawrence, saw itself obliged to accept the accomplished fact, and let him finish his work of proscription. The following extract of a letter from the Lords of Trade to Lawrence, dated March 10th, 1757, seems to be a condemnation of his conduct, both as to the non-justification and odiousness of so barbarous measure, and as to the fatal consequences that might issue therefrom: "There is no attempt, however desperate and cruel, which might not be expected from persons *exasperated as they must be by the treatment they have met with.*"

In fact it could not have been otherwise. The meekest, the most peaceful man, when he sees himself unjustly driven to bay; when all his happiness has vanished; when his country, his goods have been taken from him; when his wife and children have been snatched from his hearth and whelmed with woe, if not separated from him and from one another; when he has no longer any hope of pity from an enemy bent on the

in pieces as they would pig's flesh and scattering upon the ground these ghastly remains. (*Vaudreuil au Ministre, Oct. 18th, 1755.*)

destruction of all that makes him cling to life; this man may become a raging lion whose thirst for vengeance nothing can quench. Yes, I hesitate not to say so, after so unjust and extraordinary a persecution, there was sufficient provocation to turn the head of the most peaceful man, to make him a highwayman or a pirate, lying in ambush in the thickets of a forest as a hunter of men. That is what I would have done, that is what most of my readers would have done; yet, that is what the Acadians, except a very small number, did not do.

Tradition has preserved the remembrance of the terrible deeds of vengeance wrought by some of these men, and more particularly by Jean Le Blanc, Nicholas Gauthier and Noël Brassard dit Beausoleil.

This last-named person dwelt with all his family in the cantons of Chipody and Petitcodiac, on the north of the Bay of Fundy. This colony had been founded in 1699 by the miller Thibaudeau and Jean François Brassard. Thibaudeau had become seignior of Chipody and a large concession had been granted to his friend Brassard. Ties of relationship soon still more closely united the two families. Brassard, whose wife, Catherine Richard, was the eldest daughter of Michel Richard, first of that name in Acadia, my ancestor, gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the elder Thibaudeau, and the two families soon formed an important and prosperous group.

We have seen that, at the time of the deportation, a detachment of troops had been sent from Beauséjour (Cumberland) to burn the houses of Chipody and Petitcodiac and carry away the inhabitants; we have seen that the population, forewarned of this attack, lay in ambush on the edge of the forest, and that, just as a

squad of this detachment were preparing to set fire to the church, the Acadians made such an onslaught on the soldiers as to force them to withdraw.

He who had directed this attack was Noël Brassard dit Beausoleil, son of Jean François Brassard and Catherine Richard. Casgrain, in his "*Pèlerinage au pays d'Évangéline*," thus relates the succession of events inasmuch as they concern Noël Brassard; events which are still deeply rooted in the memory of the Acadians of the maritime provinces:—

"No inhabitant of the place had more interest than Noël Brassard in defending his home. He was the father of ten children, the last of whom was hardly eight days old; he had with him his own mother, a nonagenarian. His father, one of the first colonists of Petitcodiac, had bequeathed him, with the paternal residence, a large and beautiful tract of land under full cultivation, which gave him comfort and plenty. So Noël Brassard could not resign himself to the thought of quitting Chipody to go and wander in the woods with his family at the approach of our terrible winters. He knew that the weakest would find there certain death.

"In the assembly of the inhabitants in which the departure was decided, Noël Brassard voted for a struggle to the death, and it was only after the whole parish had been abandoned that he decided to join the fugitives.

"While his wife, who could hardly drag herself along, was going towards the edge of the forest, carrying her last born in her arms, he was loading a cart with the few effects he could take away and waiting for his aged mother, whom the anguish of these last days had brought to the brink of the grave. He had soon overtaken his family on the top of the hill, whence

could be seen the half-burnt village and the entrance to the river.

“ They stopped there in silence ; the children pressed around their mother gulping down their sobs ; as to Noël Brassard, he wept not, but he was pale as a ghost, and his lips trembled when he looked upon his wife sighing and drying her tears. The sun set behind them on the tops of the trees, a beautiful clear autumn sun that gladdened all the landscape. Its oblique rays lit up as with fire the windows of the houses, and threw their lengthened shadows down the valley.

“ Mother Brassard, whose strength was ebbing fast, appeared almost insensible while the cart was moving ; but then she opened her eyes, and, as if the splendor of the scene gave her new animation, she began to look at each of the houses of the village one after another ; she threw a long farewell look on the roof where she had so long lived ; then her eyes remained fixed on the cemetery, where the graves and white crosses, brilliantly illuminated, stood out in relief on the grass.

“ ‘ I shall go no further,’ she sighed to her son, ‘ I feel myself dying. You shall bury me there near your father.’

“ The cart moved on ; but it had not made half a mile on the rough and badly-traced road that plunged into the forest, when Noël Brassard perceived that his mother’s face was becoming whiter than wax ; beads of cold sweat appeared on her cheeks.

“ His wife and he did all they could to revive her, but in vain. She was dead.

“ On the evening of the morrow two men were busy digging a grave in the cemetery. Beside them was waiting the missionary, Mr. Le Guerne, whom they had

had time to go and warn. Noël Brassard and his brother-in-law hastened to finish their work, for the moon, then full, was quickly rising on the horizon and might have easily betrayed their presence.

"When the grave was finished, the missionary put on his surplice, with his black stole, and recited in a low tone the prayers of the burial service. He then helped the two men to fill up the grave.

"A moment afterwards the gate of the cemetery creaked on its hinges, and silence again reigned.

"Noël Brassard was as yet only at the beginning of his troubles. In spite of his sinister presentiments, had he been able to foresee all the misfortunes that awaited him, he would have shrunk back terrified.

"In the course of this frightful winter he lost his wife and all his children except two, a girl and a boy. From Petitcodiac to Restigouche, where he arrived in the first days of spring, one might have followed his steps by the graves he had left behind him.

"In his despair he could not hear the name of an Englishman pronounced without being seized with a kind of frenzy. He confided the two remaining children to his sister Marguerite d'Entremont, who herself had lost all her own, and he resumed his old profession of hunter; but this time it was to hunt down men, to hunt all that bore the name of English. At the head of some partisans, skilled marksmen like himself, and exasperated as he was by the excess of their misfortunes, he spared no pains to do his enemies all the harm he had suffered from them. During the five following years he put himself at the disposal of French officers, who employed him to rouse the Indian tribes and accompany them on their bloody expeditions. Each time he slew

an enemy he made a notch on the butt-end of his gun. This gun has been preserved by his descendants and it bears no less than twenty-eight notches.

"In the spring of 1760 Noël Brassard was back at Restigouche. When the marquis D'Anjac took refuge there with his four vessels, he claimed the privilege of serving one of the cannons that were landed on Battery Point to defend the mouth of the river. The gunners were killed at their guns, and Noël Brassard, who had fought like a lion, was pointing the last cannon that remained on its carriage, when he was cut in two by a cannon ball."

Lawrence alluded to the exploits of Brassard, Gauthier and Le Blanc * when he wrote: "These land ruffians, turned pirates, have had the hardiness to fit out shallops to cruise on our coast, and sixteen or seventeen vessels, some of them very valuable, have already fallen into their hands."

As far as we can judge from the meagre documents we possess, it does not appear that the Acadian population, who took refuge on the coasts of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, were engaged in active guerilla warfare against the English troops. Circumstances imposed on the men the duty of remaining with their families so as to provide for the daily needs of an existence continually threatened with hunger, cold, privations, sickness, and the danger of being surprised. They kept themselves, for the most part, on the shore of the sea, because it offered in summer a surer means of procuring nourishment, but at the least danger they made for the woods.

* This Jean Le Blanc was a son of Jean Le Blanc and Marguerite Richard, sister of one of my ancestors, René Richard, who died at St. Grégoire, in the district of Three Rivers, in 1776.

There still remained on the coasts of the gulf, on St. John River, and in Prince Edward Island, about 10,000 Acadians, who were able to maintain themselves in their retreats till 1758 and 1760. But even they, as we shall see further on, were for the most part obliged at last to endure the fate of those who were cast on the coasts of New England.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Capture of Louisburg—New deportations—Four thousand Acadians of Prince Edward Island are deported to England and France—One or two vessels founder—Three hundred Acadians perish in one shipwreck.

WITHOUT Winslow's manuscript we should know next to nothing of the circumstances that accompanied the wholesale deportation effectuated at Grand Pré, Annapolis, Pigiguit and Beauséjour in the autumn of 1755. Of late years Brown's manuscript has thrown a new light on the question, but there still remain, besides this first deportation, important facts that have not even been touched by any historian. The general impression is that the acts of the deportation and the rigor exercised against the Acadians were limited to the events of 1755. This is a grave error. As we shall see, the deportations of this year were only the beginning of a systematic and pitiless persecution which continued long after the peace of 1763.

There still remained, as I stated at the end of the preceding chapter, 10,000 Acadians, who took refuge on St. John River, on the shores of the Gulf, and in Prince Edward Island. What was their fate? About 1,500, or perhaps 2,000, betook themselves to Quebec, by way of the St. Lawrence, between 1756 and 1758; some hundreds ascended the St. John River in 1759 and 1760, and settled in the district of Three Rivers. Those who adopted this course, however painful may have been

the voyage and their settlement in a country which suffered from want and from the exactions of Intendant Bigot, were, nevertheless, the most fortunate of all the Acadian population. Soon after their arrival they were able to settle on lands of their own, and, by dint of work and perseverance, to create new homesteads in the fertile domains of Bécancour, St. Jacques l'Achigan, L'Acadie, etc. Their number was, however, dreadfully reduced by sickness, since at Quebec alone 500 died of small-pox on their arrival.

Parkman, with his usual good faith, has sought to show that the lot of those who took refuge in Canada was by far the most wretched. He says that Intendant Bigot, to favor a friend, confided to him the care of nourishing a certain number of these refugees at so much a head, and that the latter so stinted them of necessary nourishment that several perished of hunger and wretchedness, and thereupon he veils his face, exclaiming: What a country! What morals! The particular fact he relates is, I think, exact; but what is not so is to insinuate that the majority of the refugees were welcomed in the same heartless fashion. I know beyond a doubt that the religious authorities and the entire population came to their assistance with most praiseworthy eagerness. But Parkman is right in what concerns Bigot and his accomplices. For its misfortune France was traversing one of those periods which, while withering the patriotism and the civic virtues of the directing classes, was hurrying it into humiliations that would drag it down from its high station and warp its destiny. But the saturnalia that ran riot around the throne, and had penetrated into the administration and into the army, had not yet spoiled the body of the

nation; and, as a consoling proof of this, there still remained a deep sentiment of honor sufficiently pronounced to bring Bigot and his accomplices to trial before the whole French people, and to inflict upon them an ignominious condemnation.

While stigmatizing Bigot's conduct, as I myself unhesitatingly do, Parkman is inexcusable in that he argues from the particular to the general and blames the entire Canadian people. I have been careful not to imitate him, not to attribute to the whole English nation the crimes of Lawrence and his crew. Parkman would have done better to have kept a little of his indignation for the horrible deeds that were done at Halifax against a whole people, for Lawrence, who had acted thus only to enrich himself at the expense of the live stock of the Acadians, for his counsellors, who were to appropriate their lands. If there is a stigma to be affixed to men of Bigot's stamp, there is another to be affixed to those writers who falsify history. May the reader forgive the severe terms my indignation suggests. I have made ample allowances for the weaknesses of all the personages who have figured in the course of this work. But to appreciate rightly the motives that actuate me in this case, one must have been, like myself, in a position to detect the methods of him whom I characterize so severely.

There still remained in 1758 about 8,000 Acadians in the maritime provinces, nearly 5,500 of whom were in Prince Edward Island. The first important settlements in this island began only in 1749, when Beauséjour was founded. Le Loutre, as we have seen, had set fire to the dwellings of the inhabitants of Beaubassin, so as to force them to take refuge with the French and leave a

wilderness around the fort which the English purposed constructing on the south side of the little river, Missagouetche. The half of this populous district was thus depopulated against the will of the inhabitants. The greater number of these passed immediately into Prince Edward Island, where they began anew as best they could the quiet existence that had just been so suddenly interrupted. Furthermore, after the events of 1755, their number increased considerably by the addition of those who escaped the deportation.

Until 1758 they were able to lead their former tranquil life without molestation, for they were protected by France, which still held possession of Isle Royale (Cape Breton), and kept a garrison at Fort Lajoie in Prince Edward Island. The capture of Louisburg and the surrender of these two islands was going to furnish Lawrence with the opportunity he was waiting for.

Hardly had Louisburg been evacuated when Boscawen (*Heart of Oak*) appeared with a fleet of transports to carry off all the population. Prayers, supplications, nothing could touch the heart of this valiant patriot. Had these men committed any act of hostility, which would anyhow have been justifiable, since they had once more become French subjects and had dwelt nine years in French territory? No. Had they presented themselves before him armed for the purpose of resisting him? No. But what of that? To Boscawen, no less than to Lawrence, these were questions of no importance. From the outset it had been decided that not a single Acadian should remain in the country, not one of their dwellings, not a single vestige of what might recall the places they had so cherished, not a name to remind future generations that this country had been

colonized and inhabited for more than a century by another people. Does not the criminal efface, if he can, all reminders of his crime?

Boscawen's official report puts the population of the island at 4,100; but, without entering into explanations that support my estimate, I have reason to believe that his was much too low, and this can be explained by the departures at the news of the fall of Louisburg and before his arrival in the island. This settlement was of recent date; and yet, says Boscawen, "almost all the beef and wheat supplied to Quebec since the war has been drawn from this place. They have above 10,000 horned cattle, and many of the inhabitants told me they each harvested 1,200 bushels of wheat a year."

Boscawen does not take into account the horses, sheep, pigs, etc. This number of 10,000 horned cattle tends to confirm my reckoning of the cattle that Lawrence had at his disposal in the peninsula; for it must be borne in mind that over half of this population was composed of those who escaped the deportation of 1755 by running away to elude the soldiers who were pursuing them. They had to pass near Fort Monckton on Bay Verte, so that they must have brought away with them only a few effects and the most indispensable utensils. Besides, as Boscawen says, Prince Edward Island during the two preceding years was the place that supplied with *beef* and wheat Canada, which was suffering from dearth. Lawrence, who had had at his disposal 40,000 head of cattle, apart from the horses, etc., speaks only vaguely thereof to the Lords of Trade and as of an insignificant quantity which he would distribute to the colonists who could winter the cattle. The difference between the two men must have been

that the one acted in good faith, without interested motives, and that the other depreciated the importance of the cattle, in order the better to throw the government off the scent. Neither had any pity, but Boscawen may have had some conscience and certain principles of honor.

Three or four thousand of these unfortunate Acadians were thrown pell-mell into the holds of ships hastily collected, without any regard to their destination or their condition, and were consigned to England.

What was their fate? We know not, or rather we can merely form more or less satisfactory conjectures. Their destination was probably England and not France, since the war between the two nations was at the height of its intensity. However, from statistics collected in England after the peace by M. de la Rochette, we have reason to think that many of them were transported directly to France. We know that M. de Villejoint, who commanded at Fort Lajoie before the surrender of the island, was able to take away with him 700, whom he put ashore at La Rochelle in France. On the other hand we know that, on Dec. 26th, 1758, one of these vessels, containing 179 persons, was driven by a storm into the port of Boulogne-sur-Mer. Moreover, it is almost certain that two other ships foundered at sea during the passage. One of these shipwrecks is related as follows by a certain Captain Pile, commander of the ship "Achilles" towards the end of the last century :

"Captain Nichols," says he, "commander of a transport coming from Yarmouth, was employed by the Governor of Nova Scotia to remove from Prince Edward island three hundred Acadians with their families. Be-

fore setting sail he represented to the government agent *that it was impossible that his ship in its actual condition could arrive without danger in England, especially at such an advanced period of the season. In spite of his representations*, he was obliged to receive them on board and undertake the voyage. Having arrived at a hundred leagues from the coast of England, the ship leaked so much that in spite of all the efforts of the crew it became impossible to prevent it from foundering. A few minutes before it sank, the captain sent for the missionary who was on board, and told him that the only means of saving the life of a small number was to have the passengers consent to let the captain and sailors seize on the boats. The missionary delivered an exhortation to the Acadians, gave them absolution and induced them to submit to their unhappy lot. A single Frenchman embarked in one of the boats; but his wife having reproached him for thus abandoning her with her children, he returned on board. A few moments later the ship went down with all its passengers. The boats, after having braved a thousand dangers, arrived in one of the ports of the west of England."

This story outvies in dramatic sadness and in heroism all that the poets and tragedians have invented. When we reflect on the natural clinging to life in spite of all adversities and afflictions; when we think of the indescribable bewilderment that upsets the mind at the sight of a certain and immediate death, we remain astounded at an act of heroism surpassing our conceptions. These poor people must have passed through the refining crucible of ineffable sufferings ere they could reach such heights of Christian charity as would enable them to face death with so much equanimity, to listen

to, weigh and accept a proposal that cut off their last human hope.

How touching and sublime to see this priest, with his eyes turned heavenward, exhorting the unfortunate people to accept death in order to give life to their persecutors! I cannot dispel from my mind the thought that there were perhaps amongst them cherished relatives of my ancestors, whose fate caused bitter mourning for long years. Oh Lawrence! Lawrence! How many tears you have caused to flow! What unspeakable anguish you are the author of! What mattered to him the representations of Nichols about the unseaworthiness of his ship? It would be lost, and there would be an end of it. The master would be only the better served.

CHAPTER XL.

Fate of a party of 200 Acadians coming from Quebec—The Acadians on the Gulf coast send delegates to Colonel Frye—Their submission and fate—The Compiler—New persecutions—Motives of the local authorities—Belcher's administration—1761-1768—General Amherst four times refuses to allow him to deport the Acadians—He applies to the Lords of Trade and is refused—He deports the Acadians to Boston without orders—They are refused a landing there and are taken back to Halifax—Severe blame from the Home authorities—Belcher is replaced by Colonel Montague Wilmot—The Compiler.

IMMEDIATELY after the capture of Quebec, two hundred Acadians who had sought refuge there applied to the authorities for the purpose of taking the oath of allegiance and obtaining permission to return to Acadia and settle on their former property. The oath being taken, Judge Cramahé gave them a certificate, signed with his own hand, by which he certified that these people had taken the oath and that consequently Brigadier-General Monckton had permitted them to return to their lands or to settle on St. John River. Provided with this certificate, they set out accompanied by their families. The undertaking was extremely painful; they had before them a journey of 700 miles, 500 of which were across a forest without habitations, without roads, at the approach of winter, with children of every age. As may be imagined, their sufferings and their privations were necessarily terrible; but, after all, they were alleviated by the hope that they might at length live in peace in

their dear Acadia. Having set out from Quebec at the beginning of October, they reached Fort Frederick on St. John River towards the end of November. On their arrival they presented their certificate to Colonel Arbuthnot, who commanded this post. He referred the matter to Lawrence, who declared that this permission had been obtained under false pretences, on the supposition that these people belonged to some other river St. John in Canada. Consequently it was decided, November 30th, 1759, that they should be brought to Halifax and retained as prisoners while awaiting a favorable opportunity to send them to England.

This was a fresh outrage added to all the rest, and it was still more disgraceful in that the pretext invented by Lawrence was contradicted by the circumstances. In fact, Monckton could not have made the mistake attributed to him, because there was no other such place in Canada, and especially because Monckton was as well acquainted with Acadia and the Acadians as Lawrence himself. For it was the same Monckton who, four years previously, had directed the deportation of the Acadians from the innermost parts of the Bay of Fundy; it was also, I believe, the same Monckton who had established Fort Frederick on that same River St. John. Besides Monckton could not but have known that those who asked him to be reinstated in the possession of their lands were and could only be Acadians, because nobody in Canada had been dispossessed of his lands after the taking of Quebec. It is probable that several of these unfortunate people had left their families at Quebec until the formation of their projected new settlements. The least Lawrence should have done, if

there remained in him any vestige of honor, was to permit them to return to Quebec.

I have elsewhere related that a band of Acadians, among whom were my ancestor, Michel Richard, then 15 years old, his sister Félicité, aged 11 years, his grandfather René Richard, aged 79, and Madeleine Pellerin, aged 5, who afterwards became Michel's wife, had ascended the St. John River during this same summer of 1759, reaching Cacouna on the St. Lawrence River about the middle of October. According to all probability this party of Acadians coming to Canada and those who were returning to Acadia met somewhere in the neighborhood of Cacouna. This meeting must necessarily have suggested an exchange of sad thoughts, and it is easy to imagine what formed the subject of their intercourse after four long years of distress. However there was still some hope; one group thought themselves on the point of entering again into possession of their lands; they had reason to hope that, after hard and persevering work, they would be able eventually to recover their former comfort and ease; for the other party, this hope was more distant, though they also thought they would be able a little later to enjoy the same advantages. All their relatives and friends dispersed here and there would return; the old fatherland would be restored, and, since France had lost its colonies in America, they would no longer be troubled by the vicissitudes of war. All this was yet far off and uncertain; but at least hope was the undercurrent of their thoughts. All were about to be undeceived, and especially those who mistakenly thought they had most reason to hope.

The peace of Quebec had led to the submission to

England of the Acadians in Canada, and, as soon as the news was known, their example was followed by those on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. As early as Nov. 16th, Alexandre Brassard, Simon Martin, Jean Bastarache and Joseph Brassard presented themselves at Fort Cumberland (Beauséjour) before Colonel Frye to signify their submission. They said that they were delegated for this purpose by 190 persons then refugees up to the rivers Petitcodiac and Memramcook; that they were without means of subsistence, and they begged the authorities to assist them during the winter. It was agreed, between Colonel Frye and these delegates, that a third of them would come to the fort, where they would be fed during the winter, and, until their arrival, Alexandre Brassard was retained as hostage. "After the siege and fall of Quebec," says Murdoch, "the Missionaries Manach and Maillard were disposed to induce their followers, both Acadians and Indians, to submit themselves to the English as a conquering nation. The French officer Boishébert, who had been left on the frontier to guard and promote French interests, was very angry with these priests, because they advised their people to submission."

Two days later, Pierre Surette, Jean and Michel Bourg presented themselves in turn to the commander of the fort, as delegates for about 700 persons of Miramichi, Richibouctou and Bouctouche. It was similarly agreed that a third of these people should betake themselves to the fort where they would receive rations till spring. "By all which it pretty evidently appears," wrote Colonel Frye to Lawrence, "that early in the spring, there will be at this place and Bay Verte, about

900 souls, to be disposed of as Your Excellency shall see fit."

Colonel Frye's conduct was approved by the council; "His Excellency acquainted the Council that he was informed, from Fort Cumberland, that the number of Acadians that might be collected there would amount to near 1,200; and that, as he apprehended that these people are on the same footing with those who have lately come to river St. John from Quebec, he desired the advice of the Council *whether it would not be proper to send away the whole.*

"The Council were of opinion that such a measure would be extremely proper."

The fifth of the following August, Colonel Frye informed the governor that he had at his disposal 400 Acadians, and that he expected 700 others in a few days.

"The Council having taken the same into consideration, did advise that His Excellency would be pleased to take up vessels to transport such of those inhabitants to Halifax as were not able to travel by land, in order to their being disposed of as hereafter may be thought proper."

All these people, or at least a great part of them, were in fact transported to Halifax while awaiting the opportunity for their deportation.

Here begins, against the Acadians, within the limits of Nova Scotia, a new series of iniquitous measures on which it is not easy to pass a correct judgment. This part of the history is almost as obscure as that which concerns the first deportation. Only one writer seems to have understood it, and even he very imperfectly. The volume of the Archives furnishes but meagre data. It contains, no doubt, numerous documents, but those

we should expect to find therein, those which appear to us the most important are not there. I do not desire to overload my work by pointing out at every turn the numerous omissions I meet with ; but some are so gross that I could not help indicating them. Let the reader judge. He will readily admit that the most important documents, those which have a vital bearing on the history of Nova Scotia, are the letters of the governors either to the Lords of Trade or to other personages. Now, we find from 1756 to 1761, *thirty-four* letters to Lawrence without a single one of his replies, namely : fifteen from General Amherst, five from Governor Pownall, four from General Whitmore, three from Shirley, three from Governor Phips, and four from Hutchinson, Gibson and Rutherford. We find, moreover, in the volume of Archives during the same period, letters from generals or officers of lesser rank serving in other parts of America to other generals or officers likewise on duty outside Nova Scotia. These documents, discoursing on events of the war in other parts of America, may be important for history in general ; but, surely, in a volume, the aim of which was to collect the documents which referred to the special history of the province, the letters of one of its governors should have been deemed far more important than those of officers writing to one another outside the Province. Such, very properly, was the intention of the Legislature of Nova Scotia, as may be gathered from the resolution of this assembly concerning the publication of this volume.

“ The House of Assembly of N. S., on the motion of Hon. Joseph Howe, adopted the following resolution : That His Excellency the Governor be respectfully requested to cause the ancient

records and documents *illustrative of the history and progress of society in this province*, to be examined, preserved and arranged," etc., etc.

If there were question only of a few letters not published, I would pass over the omission in silence, as I have very often done elsewhere ; but, when there is a total of thirty-four letters, and not a single reply from him who was Governor of the province, the omission appears so strange as to be positively astounding. It cannot be that Lawrence never answered the letters that were addressed to him, since General Amherst, writing from Albany on May 29th, 1759, acknowledged the receipt of three letters, dated April 15th, 23d and 27th. On the 5th of February, 1760, the same Amherst acknowledged the receipt of four, namely, one of Aug. 22d, another of Sept. 17th, and two others of the month of December. Have they also disappeared from the Archives like all the other documents that related to the first deportation, and of which Haliburton speaks ? If so, is it not astonishing that the Compiler of these Archives has not, in some short note at the foot of the page, such as he very often inserts when it suits him, mentioned this strange fact, even without comment if comment displeases him, in order to inform the reader of this disappearance or of the reasons he might have for suppressing them ? Lawrence had every advantage for saying only just what he wished, he was stating and pleading his own case ; but the public would thereby have been, to a certain extent, in possession of the facts and able to judge of them in spite of the artful diplomacy of his language ; it was little, but this little might still be dangerous. Such is the only explanation I can suggest. The too complaisant Compiler did not dare to

put the public in a position to examine into the reasons of that disappearance or of his own silence.

However, in spite of all these omissions, I will try to get at the bottom of this lamentable history and expose the turpitude that lies hidden under this interested curtailment which time-serving worthies like Parkman and Thomas B. Akens try to conceal.

No great array of documents is needed to betray the motives of Lawrence, Belcher, Wilmot, and the rest of Lawrence's crew. The little we have is quite sufficient. With less documents the labor is greater; but the end is attained just as surely.

In the obscure parts of history the task of the historian becomes a process of careful pondering rather than one of rapid search through numerous documents. In the present instance this is the only available method. It has stood me in good stead in previous chapters by lighting up dark corners, and will, I feel sure, be equally serviceable in the unilluminated region I have yet to traverse.

Quebec had surrendered; the people had yielded up their arms and taken the oath of allegiance; all had been left in the peaceful possession of their property. Amherst, writing to Lawrence under date of May 4th, 1760, said: "Six thousand Canadians have taken the oath, and brought in their arms; they seem much pleased with their change of masters; we employed several of them, whom we paid, and they did their business cheerfully and well."

The two hundred Acadians who bore a permit from Monckton had taken the oath at about the same time, and they hoped for similar treatment, to which they had a greater right than the Canadians. The same may

be said of the Acadian refugees on the Gulf coast, since, in spite of the pressing solicitations of the French commandant, de Boishébert, they left him to throw themselves on Lawrence's mercy. For the latter, this was a good opportunity to ensure at one stroke the immediate, complete and final pacification of Nova Scotia, and to annex a group of hard-working, virtuous people that could not but contribute to the progress and development of the country. They were anxious for rest and quiet; they longed for the cessation of hostilities in order to see the end of their sufferings, to resume their former peaceful life, to begin again, if need be in some other part of the Province, the long and painful labors that had earned for them that abundance of which they had been unjustly despoiled. These were the motives that prompted them to surrender to Lawrence at the first news of the taking of Quebec. It would no doubt have been cruel to drive them away from their lands at a time when these were still unoccupied; but I think they would have accepted without a murmur any other uncleared lands in a suitable place.

Nothing of the sort was offered them. As soon as they had submitted to Colonel Frye, it was decided that they should be deported; but, in order not to alarm them and thus hinder their gathering together under military supervision, this decision was withheld from them as long as was deemed necessary. Meanwhile, although they learnt the shameful way in which their brothers coming from Quebec under protection of an official promise had been treated, yet all those who had promised to surrender made it a point of honor to fulfil their promise.

There still remained a good many Acadians in the

Baie des Chaleurs, and a few in the upper reaches of the St. John River. These would have been ready to submit, had they not had before their eyes the example of the treatment inflicted upon the refugees from Quebec. Seeing that submission was followed by imprisonment and threats of future woes, might it not be better to preserve their liberty, wretched though it was, and even to become the irreconcilable enemies of a nation that was so unrelenting?

Such was the situation. Whoever strips himself of preconceived notions and opens his eyes to the light will find no difficulty in understanding what was going on. What, then, was the motive that prevented Lawrence, Belcher and Wilmot from welcoming the unarmed Acadian remnant? This question many have put themselves without answering it plainly, because a plain answer would have been too disagreeable. Why worry over a problem when the solution threatens to be humiliating? Why do justice to a small nation which by this time has probably forgotten its history, and none of whose sons will be likely to dive into this lost chapter? No such hindrances stand in my way; I mean to probe the matter to the bottom, to clear up, as far as I can, every mystery, to explain what seems inexplicable.

Cruel as Lawrence was, his cruelty cannot stand as a full explanation; we have to look elsewhere. There remains, therefore, but one alternative. When obvious motives do not suffice, some motive of self-interest must be sought for. It could not be fear of armed hostilities that prevented Lawrence from allowing these unarmed people, surrendering at discretion, to settle in the country. France was conquered, dispossessed of Canada,

Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island; there was no longer a single French soldier in the whole country; what, then, was there to fear from this handful of settlers, who were longing for quiet and who proved the peacefulness of their intentions by spontaneously giving themselves up against the will of French officers directly after the fall of Quebec?

It is certain that Lawrence had made up his mind to deport them before they had given any cause for complaint; this is proved by the imprisonment of those who had come to settle on the St. John River with the permission of Monckton, and by Lawrence's suggesting to his Council, as soon as he heard of Acadians submitting to Colonel Frye, that these Acadians should be deported. His motive is not far to seek. Do we not know that his Councillors had voted to each of their number a grant of 20,000 acres from the lands of the Acadians? Do we not know that, later on, either to satisfy the greed of influential persons who were jealous of the Councillors' windfall, or to force them to endorse their conduct, the remainder of the Acadian farms were parcelled out to all those who had any standing in the Province? Do we not know that, later still, in order to ensure impunity and powerful support from the Home Government, the crown lands were handed over to be pillaged by the highest officers of the army, by noble lords and doughty generals, by Lord Egremont, Lord Colville, Dr. Franklin (soon afterwards Postmaster-general of England), Generals Bouquet and Haldimand, *Sir Robert Wilmot*, *Lady Wilmot* and many others?

All this had not yet come to pass at the time I am now speaking of; but the pillage was beginning and

was to continue with ever-increasing vigor. These grants were not all gratuitous nor unconditional; there were great, middling and small privileges proportioned to the influence of the grantees; but all were equally eager for the spoils, and each aspirant for booty carried away the consoling morsel that earned his silence or his support, and was at liberty to flaunt it in the face of the legitimate Acadian proprietor or of the poor tenant who should take the latter's place. As may well be imagined, Lawrence's councillors were not recipients of the small privileges. Belcher, his successor, had his goodly share, and so must Wilmot have had his.

"In closing the outline of the year 1765," says Murdoch,¹ "and reflecting on the very large land grants, sanctioned by Governor Wilmot and his Council, I cannot help thinking it an ugly year, and that the growth of the Province was long retarded by the rashness of giving forest lands away from the power of the crown or the people in such large masses."

When all the lands of the Acadians had been thrown to these hungry vultures, the authorities had to fall back on the uncleared lands, and these were flung, by the thousand acres at a time, to favorites. There must have been many assumed names among the grantees; one grant was not enough for the more greedy ones, who went on the principle that "you can't have too much of a good thing;" but, when they received more than one grant, they could easily mask their identity under a name borrowed for a consideration.

Such was the state of affairs in what Murdoch calls that "ugly year," 1765. How many fortunes date their inception from this shameful complicity! How many

¹ Vol. II., p. 455.

scamps sprang from this mud into lordly grandeur! If one had to go back to the beginnings of great families whose descendants browbeat one with their opulence, if one had to scrutinize the foundations of many great names, the man of stainless honor would perhaps thank Providence for the lowliness of his own origin. For my part, I deem it a greater satisfaction to be descended from humble victims of oppression than from their haughty oppressors.¹

The reader is now in a position to understand why the poor Acadians, who threw themselves on the mercy of their oppressors, were not kindly welcomed as they should have been, but imprisoned until they could be deported; why they were not even suffered to settle in some isolated part of the Province; why their oppressors persisted in deporting them to such a distance that they would never think of returning; why Lawrence, and, after him, Belcher and Wilmot, importuned Amherst to allow them to get rid of the Acadians; why they described the latter as discontented, dangerous and incapable of appreciating what they called "the lenity and sweet of English rule." Strange sweetness indeed, which treated them as prisoners and convicts directly after they had submitted, and was on the look-out for a chance of deporting them to the ends of the earth! These men would have been either more or less than human, if they had not felt the humiliations and the mental tortures that were inflicted upon them, if they had not resented them in words. Even the most submissive hound will snap and snarl when the lash is applied

¹ The Compiler's extracts from the Archives contain a number of Orders in Council, but none that bear on these land grants; and yet orders of this latter kind are in the Archives, as Parkman well knew.

unsparingly. And yet, despite this accumulation of wrongs, can there be found, amid all the documents of their oppressors, mention of one single act of rebellion on the part of the Acadians, from the date of their surrender in December, 1759, till 1766? If any mention of such an act can be produced, I should be curious to see it. We read, in the letters written with a view to obtain leave to deport them, that fears were entertained about the future, that the Acadians were dangerous beings who would seize the first opportunity to revolt. Such statements were necessary in order to obtain the desired leave; but there is no mention of a *single act* of insubordination, though, if any such act had occurred, it would beyond a doubt have been mentioned in the letters to Amherst. The only definite charge made, and from it strong inferences are drawn, is that certain groups of Acadians had not yet submitted and "were lurking in the woods." Does this not prove how baseless were the grievances of the authorities? Pray, were these poor people obliged to give themselves up to imprisonment, followed as it was to be by deportation? The marvel is that the men thus dragged to prison did not hurl themselves upon their oppressors and rend them limb from limb, before receiving the fatal blow that would have put an end to their embittered and hopeless lives. Ah! but they thought of their sorrow-stricken families groaning under want, separation and the bereavements of death, and they feared to add to their anguish and to leave them without support or solace in the throes of their agony. They also found in their religion—a subject of mockery for their tyrants—the strength and the courage to bear and forbear and mayhap to forgive.

Let us now examine the mutilated correspondence of the Governors to see if we can detect, in these artfully constructed documents, some unguarded expression that betrays the secret they were so anxious to hide. While making this examination, we must bear in mind that these land-robbers felt they would be exposing themselves to the pressing of claims dangerous for their own tranquillity, if they allowed the Acadians to remain in the Province. If these Acadians were once admitted, all the others who could return from exile would have to be admitted likewise. Would they consent without a murmur to become the tenants-at-will of Lawrence's councillors on lands that belonged to them and had been cleared by their forefathers? And if they consented to plunge into the forest, there to carve out a new homestead, would not the daily and involuntary nearness of their misery be a continual reproach to their despoilers? Does the criminal enjoy being all his life confronted with his victim? Does the successful swindler build his splendid mansion next to the hovel of the man he has ruined? Might not this awkward neighborhood open the eyes of the public and the Lords of Trade, disgrace the land-robbers and bring about the annulment of the titles they either had already secured or were about to secure? And this was no small risk, since, even with all their wise precautions, the Lords of Trade, a few years later, cut down their grants from 20,000 to 5,000 acres. Hence it became an urgent necessity to scatter the Acadian refugees far and wide, so that they might forget their country, their nationality, their language, their religion and lose the very remembrance of what they had been in the past.

Lawrence and his councillors were not slow to scent the danger ahead, and, at the first intimation of the arrival of 200 Acadians with permits to settle in the Province, it was resolved that they be banished once more. As soon as Frye sent in his first communication announcing that the Acadians of the coast were about to submit, Lawrence advised his Council to deport them. "He desired the advice of the Council whether it would not be proper to take up Transports to *send away the whole.*"

Whereupon, "The Council, were of opinion that such a measure would be extremely proper, and seemed absolutely necessary, in order to facilitate the settlement of the *Acadian lands* by the persons who are coming from the Continent for that purpose, who, otherwise, would be always liable to be obstructed in their progress by the incursions of these French inhabitants. Whereas, on the contrary, if they are removed out of the Province, the settlement will remain in *perfect security.*"

The motive is clear enough. The lands they wanted to protect against troublesome claims and exposure were now theirs; it could not be expected that a resolution of this kind would contain any explicit mention of the danger that threatened the Councillors' own spoils; they had to cloak their thoughts with the welfare of the settlement in general; but to any one reading between the lines, it was the "perfect security" of their private interests they wished to protect. All great rogues adopt similar tactics.

However, before deporting all these Acadians, it was necessary to obtain the consent of the authorities in other countries. England had received her share of Acadian exiles; the provinces of New England thought they had more than their share. To act without their consent might be dangerous. What was to be done?

On February 20th, 1761, Belcher, who had succeeded Lawrence after the latter's demise, submitted to his Council a letter in which General Amherst recommended "*the continuation of the Acadians in the Province.*"

Whereupon, etc., etc., "The Council proceeded to take the same into consideration, etc., etc. And that it is their unanimous opinion that the said French Acadians cannot by the said Royal order and the said Provincial law, be permitted to remain in the Province, and the Council did advise that this their opinion may be submitted with all deference to the consideration of His Excellency General Amherst."

On March 22d Amherst replied to this resolution of the Council :

"NEW YORK, 22d March, 1761.

"Your dispatch of the 25th of February reached my hands last night ; I have nothing more at heart than the advantage and the security of the Province of Nova Scotia ; if the removal of the Acadians still remaining within the same could add to either, I should be the first to advise their expulsion ; but as under the new circumstances of that valuable and flourishing Province, I do not see that it can have *anything to fear* from those Acadians, *but on the contrary that great advantages* might be reaped in employing them properly ; I must own I should incline towards letting them in the Province under proper regulations and restrictions."

Amherst, as a stranger to the Province and probably unaware of the secret motives of Belcher and his Council, could not, it would seem, do otherwise than accept without discussion their views. Had he done so, there would have been no ground for surprise ; but, being a thoughtful man, anxious for the welfare of the country, he did not see the wisdom of their request.

Not content with sending to Amherst the resolution of his Council, Belcher wrote him two other letters on the same subject before he had received the answer given above. One of these letters bears date March 11th, the

other, March 19th. These two letters are not in the volume of the Archives ; but the answer shows that they referred again to the desired permission to deport the Acadians. Amherst replies on April 15th :

" I beg to differ in opinion with you on the insufficiency of troops in your Province. Those that are destined to remain there are far more than requisite under your present circumstances, for the danger the late Governor might last year have some reason to apprehend is now entirely removed. The few Acadians at Ristigouche that are said not to have yet surrendered under the capitulation, can, I am certain, make no object, even were they to persist in their error ; but depend upon it, they will soon awaken out of it and rejoice at our acceptance of their submission."

This was a rebuke. After three such categorical answers, all implying a refusal, it would seem Belcher and his Council ought to have definitely given up their plan of deportation. But they were not satisfied. On April 15th, in a long letter to Amherst, Belcher enumerates anew all his fears for the peace and tranquillity of the Province ; but this time he adds a new motive, which, he hopes, must persuade Amherst to grant the longed-for permission :

" Besides the reasons I have already offered to you, why attempts from these people are to be feared, there yet remains one of some weight, which is, that there are many amongst the Acadians at Ristigouche, who were formerly in possession of some of those lands in the District of Beaubassin, and as they have not yet lost hopes of regaining them, through notions which they have received from priests and Frenchmen, I think it at least probable that they will disturb the beginnings of these settlements, in which case, the loss of two or three lives will strike such terror as may not only intimidate and drive away the people of these townships, but may also greatly obstruct the settlement of other parts."

There yet remained one more solitary reason, and Belcher could not give up the game without invoking

it. In fact, it was no new reason, but the only and true one disguised: the danger for the security of his spoils. He thought it strong enough to justify his importunity, but Amherst was no man to yield to mere ungrounded insistence. Apparently this new reason had prompted this new letter; Belcher thought it decisive. Though he had, for a whole year, kept about a thousand Acadians imprisoned at Halifax, the only grievance he could trump up was fear for the future. He could not point to one fact, one murder, one assault, one theft, not even to a refusal to obey. Verily, this was a bitter disappointment; his 20,000 acres were in jeopardy.

Amherst replied on the 28th of April by another refusal, the fourth:

"I cannot say I am under apprehensions for the settlements which are to be established at Beaubassin. The Acadians may not be so thoroughly well disposed as I could wish, but I expect a different behavior from them, for they never have been in the situation they are now in, and they can hardly be mad enough to attempt anything against the establishment of the Province at this time."

Thereafter Belcher seems to have abandoned all hope of obtaining from that quarter the authorization he so eagerly desired; for we find no other correspondence between him and Amherst for a long time, with the exception of the following letter, asking leave to employ the Acadians in work for the new colonists. He thus refuted himself, since he could, without danger, employ these men whom he had represented as so dangerous. The colonists themselves can have apprehended no danger, since the leave was asked at their own request.

"HALIFAX, 18th June, 1761.

"SIR: By representations made to me *from the new settlements* in this Province, it appears extremely necessary that the inhabitants

should be assisted by the Acadians in repairing the dykes for the preservation and recovery of the marsh lands, particularly as on the progress of this work, in which the Acadians are the most skillful in the country, the support and subsistence of several of the inhabitants will depend.

"This weighty reason, together with the consideration of the great service rendered these settlements *through the Acadians* by the late governor *last year*, urges me to repeat my application. . . . And I shall expect the less difficulty on this occasion, as the Secretary of Military Affairs assured me some time since, from you, that the Acadians should be ready to receive my orders on *half an hour's warning*."

Thus were the Acadians set to work on their own lands, to assist those who had been put in their places and who were profiting by the labor of a century. Think of these dangerous Acadians submitting to a compulsory labor that racked their very souls, and that "at half an hour's warning!" They had submitted to this imposition the previous year, apparently without resistance, and now it was required of them again. What more is needed to demonstrate that all the fears of Belcher and his Council were merely contemptible pretexts invented to cover their real fears about their own land grants? And yet the Acadians were perverse enough, forsooth, not to appreciate "the lenity and the sweet of English rule!"

The volume of the Archives does not contain any letter of Belcher's showing that, after his fourfold failure with Amherst, he applied to the Lords of Trade; but the following extract from one of their letters proves that he did:

"WHITEHALL, 23d June, 1761.

"The number of Acadians *you state* to have been collected together in different parts of the Province, and their hostile disposition, appears to us to be a very untoward circumstance in the present state of

the Province, but as it does not properly belong to our department to give directions upon a matter of this nature, we must refer you to His Majesty's Secretary of State, to whom we have transmitted copies of such of your letters, and the papers received with them, as relate to this subject."

The Compiler produces nothing but the above short extract of this important letter; however it is sufficiently clear for my present purpose; Belcher had written to the Lords of Trade and his *letters* and *papers* (not produced), in which he asked leave to banish the Acadians, were referred to Lord Egremont, the Secretary of State, that he might answer them.

This answer is not in the volume of the Archives; but, seven months later, January 9th, 1762, we find a letter from Belcher to the Secretary of State. The usual asterisks show that it is garbled in passages that appear important; yet, by the way in which he presents new motives for the deportation, it clearly implies that his request had been refused:

"I beg leave to represent to your Lordship, that besides these persons, there are many others of the Acadians in this Province, who although they have surrendered themselves, are yet ever ready and watchful for an opportunity, either by assistance from the French, or from hopes of stirring up the Indians to disturb and distress the new settlements lately made, and those now forming; I am perfectly convinced, from the whole course of their behavior and disposition, that they cannot with any safety become again the inhabitants of it."

Though the volume of the Archives does not contain the answer of the Secretary of State, we can infer with certainty that it was unfavorable, because nearly seven months went by without Belcher's making any move toward deportation. Had the reply been favorable, Belcher would undoubtedly have hastened to make use

of a permission he was so anxious to obtain. This inference is made still more evident by the letter of the Lords of Trade under date of the 3d of the following December, reproduced further on, in which they distinctly condemn the deportation that had then just taken place.

On July 26th, 1762, Belcher and his Council decided upon banishing all the Acadians. The resolution embodying all the motives of their decision is very long; all possible grievances are collected therein; and yet, strange to say, it contains no mention of any act of hostility or actual resistance; on the contrary, it is strictly confined to apprehensions about the future. One feels that the Council is making a last decisive effort to draw up a document in self-defence in case of need. This resolution, as we shall see, speaks of no authorization whatever, either from the Secretary of State or General Amherst; and how could it, since, as is evident, its *raison d'être* was the very refusals Belcher had met at their hands? Lawrence had succeeded by sheer audacity; they were trying the same plan. In the event of a rebuke, Belcher would plead the opinion of his Council and the local circumstances which imperatively called for some such action. Here is the conclusion of this document:

"For all which reasons, the Council are of opinion that, *in this time of danger* it is *absolutely necessary immediately* to transport the Acadians out of this Province, as their continuing longer in it may be attended *with the worst circumstances to the projected new settlements* in particular, as well as to the general safety of the Province. And therefore, the Council do unanimously advise and recommend, in the most earnest manner, for the safety and security of this Province and its new settlements, that the Lieutenant-Governor would be pleased to take the speediest method to collect

and transport the said Acadians out of this Province ; and do further advise that, as the Province of Massachusetts is nearest adjacent to this Province, that the Lieutenant-Governor would be pleased to cause them to be transported to that Province with all convenient dispatch."

This new deportation, after so many explicit refusals, both from Amherst and the Home authorities, was a piece of audacity on a par with Lawrence's; Belcher's disobedience was even far worse, and the danger he was placing himself in was such that it is legitimate to infer that he had, or thought he had, great private interests to serve thereby. Lawrence had sheltered himself behind his Council, so did Belcher; and we may well suppose that this strongly-worded resolution was handed ready-made by him to his subservient and equally interested Council. This was a wise precaution, but the penalty, if any, could not very well fall on his Council; he alone would be made to suffer. The sequel will show that he did.

Belcher was successful only in so far as he succeeded in obtaining from Amherst a sort of semi-approval of *the accomplished fact*. Here is the part of Amherst's letter which refers to it:

"Although I cannot help thinking that these people might have been kept in proper subjection while the troops remained in Nova Scotia, yet I must own I am glad you have taken the measures for removing them, as they might have become troublesome when the Province was drained of the forces." *

* Sir Jeffrey Amherst has won great distinction for his intelligence and wisdom in the conduct of affairs in America during the war, and it may be well deserved. But, at the same time, his moral worth, judging from some of his correspondence with Colonel Bouquet, could not very well be of a very high order. In 1763, while the Pontiac conspiracy was in progress, he wrote to the latter:

"Might we not try to spread smallpox among the rebel Indian tribes? We must in this occasion make use of every device to reduce them."

This is, briefly, what had happened. Directly after the resolution of his Council, Belcher sent off in great haste to Boston five vessels filled with Acadians. The Legislature of Massachusetts peremptorily refused to receive the exiles. The urgent entreaties of Captain Brooks* and even of Governor Bernard could not overcome the resistance of that Assembly. They went so far as to refuse to await the return of a messenger that was to be despatched to General Amherst. Hancock, who in Boston represented the Government of Nova Scotia, refused to provide provisions. After waiting two or three weeks in Boston harbor, Captain Brooks, commander of the expedition, was obliged to return to Halifax with his shipment of exiles.

Their return provoked in Belcher's camp an explosion of anger against the Massachusetts Legislature, which

"I will try," answered Bouquet, "to introduce smallpox by means of blankets, which we will cause to fall into their hands."

That suggestion was adopted by Amherst. "You will do well," he again wrote him, "to try to spread smallpox by means of blankets, and by every other means which might help to exterminate that abominable race."

A few months afterwards smallpox made awful havoc among the unfortunate tribes.

* This is the same Captain Brooks Watson who, in 1791, wrote for the Rev. Dr. Brown the description of Acadian manners, quoted in a previous chapter. Elsewhere, he speaks as follows of their behavior in exile and of their return:

"Their orderly conduct (in Georgia), their integrity, sobriety and frugality, secured to them the good will of the people and gained them comfortable support. But, still longing for their native country, all their industry was stimulated, all their hopes supported, by that landmark of their former felicity; many of them built boats, and, taking their families, coasted the whole American shore, from Georgia to Nova Scotia. But, alas! what did they find? All was desolated; for, the more effectually to drive them out of the country, all their houses had been burnt, *all their cattle killed by order of Government*; hence they found no shelter; still they persevered with never-failing fortitude, with unremitting industry, and established themselves in different remote parts of the Province, where they had been suffered to remain, but without any legal property; at least, I have not heard of any land having been granted to them. . .

"Their numbers, I am told, have increased about two thousand, and, I am informed, they still continue what I know them to have been in their prosperous state, an honest, sober, industrious and virtuous people."
—Hon. Brooks Watson to Rev. Andrew Brown, July 1st, 1791.

had refused to be, for the second time, a party to such odious persecution. The situation was a critical one for him; he had to explain matters to the Lords of Trade and the Secretary of State. This foolish enterprise had been undertaken without their assent, without that of Amherst. His was, indeed, a most ticklish position. Happily for him, however, Amherst had, *after the event*, granted a semblance of approval to the fact; and this is the point Belcher insists on most strongly in his defence, taking care to speak of it in veiled language as if the approval had preceded the fact. Yet, incredible to relate, after so many rebuffs, he still persisted in asking leave to deport the Acadians.

The Compiler does not produce the answer of the Secretary of State. As to the Lords of Trade, their answer, which is also absent from the volume of the Archives, can be gathered from the following extract of the minutes of their meetings to be found in the Archives :

“Dec. 3d, 1763.

“Their Lordships, upon consideration of Mr. Belcher's letter of 26th October, 1763, which relates to the removal of the Acadians, are of opinion that this measure and the future disposition of these Acadians is entirely within the department of the Secretary of State. Their Lordships, however, *could not but be* of opinion, that, *however expedient it might have been* to have removed the Acadians at a time when the enterprises of the enemy threatened danger to the Province, yet, *as that danger is now over* and hostilities between the two nations have ceased, it was *neither necessary nor politic* to remove them, as they might, *by a proper disposition*, promote the interest of the colony, and be made useful members of society, agreeable to what appear to be *the sentiments* of General Amherst *in his letter* to the Lieutenant-Governor.”

The castigation was severe and vigorously applied.

Moreover, we are led to understand that Belcher distorted the meaning of that letter of General Amherst from which he pretended to seek support. This was not the time nor the place for the Lords of Trade to express an opinion on the first great deportation of 1755; but the language in which they allude to it seems to imply condemnation.

As I gather from the above minutes of proceedings, the matter was deemed too important for the Lords of Trade to adjudicate upon. Belcher's conduct was to be judged by the Secretary of State himself; but, so stupid and cruel did it appear to them, that they could not refrain from expressing an opinion. It follows, as a matter of course, that the Secretary of State wrote to Belcher on the subject. It is but reasonable to suppose that his blame was still more severe, and, likely, it contained his dismissal, for, shortly after, Belcher was removed from office. Where is this letter? Why is it not in the volume of Archives? It would be one of the most important in the whole volume, just as much so as the letter of the Lords of Trade to Belcher reciting Lawrence's many misdeeds, the same also omitted from that volume.*

The sequence of events just related is fairly orderly and clear; but it would be a mistake to suppose that the Compiler of the volume of the Archives has followed the order I have adopted. On the contrary, to disentangle this confused part of the Archives required an amount of patience which no one else appears to have brought to bear upon it. From the end of 1759 to 1763, the papers are jumbled together without order of dates or even of years, and great pains are needed to

* To be found at page 142, Chapter XXXII., of this book.

reconstitute the natural connection of the facts. This disorder is inexplicable, unless it be the result of design.

On a close and pitiless examination of all the incidents of the successive Acadian expulsions, some of the blame might be made to rest with those who held in their hands the destinies of England; but there are two considerations that almost completely save the honor of the Home Government. One is the system of misrepresentation begun by Lawrence and continued by Belcher and others; this was a conspiracy of calumny and opportune silence, the very existence of which was most probably not suspected in England. The other is the breaking out of the war, which was already certain when first the Lords of Trade learned of the deportation, and which absorbed all other concerns of what seemed to them minor importance. Sorry as this comfort is for those who have suffered so much, the descendants of the exiled Acadians will welcome it as a solace in their misfortune.

If audacity often triumphs, if nothing succeeds like success, conversely, nothing fails like failure. Belcher's usefulness was gone. He was replaced, soon after his fiasco, by that same Wilmot whom the Rev. Hugh Graham called a *poor tool*, and who "once upon a time" paid the bounty for twenty-five Acadian scalps, saying "that the law might be strained and that there was a necessity for winking at these things."

This was drifting from bad to worse. Opportunities for wholesale spoliation are like revolution; they throw up to the surface hideous monsters of greed, hungry jackals hankering for their prey.

Before taking leave of Belcher I will relate another

incident of his administration, and it is a new iniquity. Among the *powerful reasons* he laid before the Lords of Trade to obtain leave to deport the Acadians, there was one on which he insisted strongly as an unanswerable proof of their evil dispositions:

"I beg leave to remark further, that none of the Acadians have ever made voluntary submission, but on the contrary, their wants and terrors only have reduced them to it, of which *there is an instance* from some of them remaining at the village of Ste. Anne on the St. John's River, to the amount of forty, who have yet made no offers of surrender."

This was true; these few families had not given themselves up. They had preferred—horrible to relate—their freedom with the wretched and precarious existence it entailed to a submission that would mean imprisonment and deportation. This was their crime. The remoteness of their retreat shielded them from persecution long enough to enable them to await the peace-making orders of the Lords of Trade; but, in the mean time, the lands they occupied had been included in the numerous grants that were being bestowed everywhere; their clearings had whetted the greed of the covetous, and the harvest was about to be gathered in. Belcher notified them to quit immediately the lands they occupied. Here is their reply, which gives us an insight into the facts of the case and the dispositions of these people. The tone of this letter is certainly not threatening nor even rebellious, though the order of banishment was so unjust and so cruel:

"We have received with respect the orders which the Commandant of Fort Frederick published to us in your name to evacuate the River St. John. We would have obeyed these orders immediately, had we not hoped that, through compassion for our past misfortunes, you

would deign to spare us new ones. In truth, sir, we were beginning to issue out of the awful calamity to which war had reduced us; the appearances of an abundant harvest promised us provisions for the ensuing year. If you absolutely order us to depart *before the harvest*, most of us being without money, without provisions, we shall be obliged to live after the manner of the savages wandering hither and thither; on the contrary, *if you allow us to pass the winter* in order to dry our grain, we shall be in a fit state to till *new lands wherever you will order us to withdraw to*. Your sagacious minds enable you to understand that a husbandman who settles on hitherto uncultivated soil without provisions for a year, can only become a poor creature useless to the government under which he lives. We hope, sir, that you will have the goodness to grant us a priest of our religion; this will make us bear with patience the hardships inseparable from such a migration. We await your final orders on this subject, and we have the honor to be with all possible respect and submission, sir,

Your most humble and obedient servants,

THE INHABITANTS OF THE RIVER ST. JOHN.

[Received August 8th, 1763.]

This petition is not in the volume of the Archives. Brown, who never let himself be swayed by mean motives, found it important enough to give it a place in his manuscript. There is a flavor of artlessness about this letter that is not devoid of charm; at any rate it was not written by a priest, since it asked for a priest. Their principal request—to reap what they had sown—was not unreasonable, especially as the season for harvesting was at hand.

We know that they had to quit the country; but we do not know if they were allowed to enjoy their harvest. We trust they were.* We should like to believe that Lawrence, Belcher, and their henchmen were not all so utterly wicked as to delight in the mere infliction of

* I have since discovered that this respectful and submissive letter was judged impertinent. This unwarrantable displeasure leaves little room for doubt as to the rejection of all their requests, including the request to take away the harvest.

useless pain. But a man's better self is often stifled by prejudice, particularly if he serve an unprincipled master skilful enough to give him a share in his shameful speculations. In such cases a man sinks to the level of the brute, and forgets everything but the glutting of his grosser appetites. The ties of kinship broken, the tears shed, the sighs and sufferings of all kinds which he provokes, all these are nothing; he sees nothing, feels nothing; his mind is filled with the absorbing thought of the dainty morsel dangling before his mental vision.

In this, as in a nutshell, lies this whole historical question. This lost chapter is rooted in private greed. Public interest had nothing to do with it from beginning to end. Nor had national animosity any decisive bearing on it. True, some Acadians at one time harassed the British troops; but that was after the first deportation and before the fall of Quebec, when, hunted and harried like wild beasts, they were exasperated and sought revenge for the iniquitous and inhuman persecution they had suffered; and such isolated cases do not touch the true motive of this persecution: private greed; a motive which none but the thoughtless or the mentally obtuse can gainsay.

In the minutes of the Halifax Council we find the following, one of the last official acts of Belcher's administration: "The Lieutenant-Governor acquainted the Council that he had the opinion of the Lords of Trade against the general removal of the Acadians from this Province." This declaration, it is easy to surmise, was forced on Belcher by the instructions contained in the letter which the Compiler has omitted.

CHAPTER XLI.

Colonel Montague Wilmot's administration, 1764-1766—The Lords of Trade's earnest endeavor to procure a settlement for the Acadians in the Province or neighboring colonies thwarted by Wilmot—He is afraid they will come back, and wants them to be sent to tropical climates—He forces them to that course through persecutions and disgust—His object made clear by his own letters—His death at Halifax.

It would be natural to suppose that the blame from the Home authorities and Belcher's dismissal would put an end to the persecutions the Acadians had been unceasingly subjected to since 1755. In spite of his many entreaties, Belcher had no motive that could be understood and accepted by Amherst and the Lords of Trade, for they knew full well that no possible danger could be apprehended from people situated as they were, had they been so disposed, since Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island and Canada had long ago been conquered and the French driven out from the continent. But the end was not yet. Wilmot was, if anything, worse than Belcher.

In his instructions to Wilmot, at the opening of his administration, Lord Halifax enjoined on him to prevent by every lawful means the departure of the Acadians, and to let them settle wherever they pleased in the British dominions. It would seem that such a positive

order, following closely on Belcher's dismissal for disobedience, would effectually put an end to further persecutions and deportations; but, wherever private interest and greed are powerfully stimulated, and wherever the controlling authority is distant, soulless men in Wilmot's position will always find a way to baffle that authority.

Taught by experience, he applied himself to finding some means whereby he might realize the same purpose without, however, seeming to oppose so directly the clearly-expressed views of the Lords of Trade. He had been too much mixed up with these intrigues not to have many interests in common with Belcher and his Council. He appears to have had his share of the Acadians' lands; at any rate the path of spoliation was plainly trodden for him by his former governor and his friends, and now his own high position gave him his opportunity. In fact we know that, soon after his installation, a large grant of land was made to Sir Robert Wilmot and another to Lady Ann Wilmot, doubtless relatives of his. Very likely, Wilmot surpassed both Lawrence and Belcher in the art of annexing landed property. "In closing the outline of the year 1765," says Murdoch in the memorable words already quoted, "and reflecting on the very large land grants, sanctioned by Governor Wilmot I cannot help thinking it an *ugly* year."

Wilmot was becoming more and more imbued with the motives that actuated Belcher and his Council. Like them, he feared that the Acadians, as he said, "*would always seek to repossess their lands.*" In an address he says: "That these people, seeing the English daily in possession and enjoyment of the lands formerly

occupied by them, will forever regret their loss ; and consequently *will lay hold of every opportunity for regaining them.*"

For a man in his position it was an easy matter to reach his end without incurring reproach or giving an inkling of his motives. He alone controlled all correspondence with the Lords of Trade or the Secretary of State. He could easily put off that settlement of the Acadians which the former seemed to desire. By dint of procrastination and by representing this ultimate settlement as uncertain, he could disgust the Acadians, make them loathe the country and thus provoke their voluntary exile. And this is precisely what he succeeded in doing.

"One shudders," says an historian, "at the thought of the fate of these unfortunate people. Eight years had elapsed since they had been snatched from their rich and peaceful homes ; and, after enduring so much suffering and fatigue in returning thither, they find themselves carried off again, dragged from prison to prison, deported a second time, and finally brought back to be reduced to the condition of outcasts among their oppressors."

The war had now been virtually over for four years, France had lost her American colonies, a definitive treaty of peace had been signed ; all intercourse between the French and the Acadians, if indeed there ever had been reason to dread such intercourse, had become impossible ; the Acadians had been decimated by grief, want, and disease, they formed in all a wretched group of some 1,800 persons,* five-sixths of whom were women

* Memorandum communicated to the Lords of Trade by Wilmot, the 22d of March, 1764 :

and children; most of them were at Halifax itself, prisoners or under surveillance; they had no money, no arms, no means of getting any had they so wished. Under such circumstances their only object could have been to live in peace in order to escape fresh misfortunes. Can any person in his senses believe that those who pretended to fear for the peace of the country because of these outcasts were in good faith? The question answers itself. To insist upon so obvious a reply were an insult to the reader. But, if the alarmists were not honest, then they had some hidden motive, as I have attempted to prove.

In truth, the Acadians were discontented, and very much so. They could see no reason for this relentless persecution clinging to them as vultures to carrion. Yes; they were daily growing desperate. For a long time they bore their trials bravely, hoping that circumstances would gradually bring their persecutors to relent; but, when they found themselves deported anew, when they saw a general peace concluded and yet nothing coming to ensure them a standing in the country and an end to their misfortunes, they protested with energy, declaring that they would not take the oath of allegiance, that they wanted to quit the Province and become French subjects. They, who had been so anxious to return to their dear Acadia, had now no

Number of families of Acadians still remaining in the Province:

	Families.	Number of persons.
At Halifax and the environs,	232	1,056
At King's County, Fort Edward,	77	227
Annapolis Royal,	28	91
Fort Cumberland,	73	388
Total,	405	1,762

In addition to the above there are 300 souls on the island of St. John (P. E. I.).

other desire than to get out of it as soon as possible. Wilmot had gained his point in a roundabout way.

Here let us go back a little and see how he acted on the Lords of Trade so as to get rid of the Acadians. I do not intend to go minutely into the means he used to frustrate the Home Government's kindly wishes with regard to the Acadians; this is a study I would recommend to those who would like to get an idea of all the Machiavelism brought to bear upon this design. The authorities in London sincerely desired that persecution should stop, that the Acadians should settle in the Province; nay, *they wished that all legitimate means be used to prevent their departure*. This opposition between their views and Wilmot's is a further proof that the British Government had no part in the various deportations. During all Wilmot's administration, *i. e.*, during almost three years, we find, on the one hand, continual reiteration of these good intentions, and, on the other, constant attempts to baffle them and to provoke the departure of the Acadians. Once more, fairly complete success crowned the efforts of the local government. Lawrence had succeeded by audacity, Wilmot succeeded by astuteness.

Directly after the treaty of peace, the Acadians, seeing that this had brought them no relief and that they were still refused any settlement in the Province, wrote to Monsieur de la Rochette, secretary of the Duc de Nivernois, to obtain by his intervention either some improvement in their position in the Province, or some chance of settling in France or in the French colonies. Informed of these negotiations, Lord Halifax remonstrated with the French Government and instructed Wilmot "to take every lawful means of preventing any

of the Acadians *from being clandestinely withdrawn from His Majesty's Government.*" Then he added: "But, necessary as it is, on the one hand, to put a stop to the seduction and secret removal of these His Majesty's subjects, it seems but just and reasonable, on the other, that care should be taken *to provide proper settlements for them, as much to their own satisfaction as may be consistent with the public safety.*"

This shows how painful was the situation in which they were placed. On one side the authorities of Nova Scotia would not allow them to settle, would not tolerate them at all; on the other, they were prevented from taking refuge on French territory. But Lord Halifax, at least, wisely understood that, though their departure for French colonies must be opposed, yet common justice required that they be allowed to settle wherever they chose in the British colonies, "consistently with the public safety."

Wilmot took advantage of this last phrase to continue thwarting their attempts at settlement, hoping that, weary of the long delay and despairing of redress from him, they would go away of their own accord, and that Acadia would thus become hateful to all those who might have entertained the notion of returning thither.

His first step in this direction was to inform the Lords of Trade that a certain James Robins, then in London, had invited the Acadians to go to Miramichi, where he was about to inaugurate a large establishment for trade and fishery, and that this Robins pretended he had the King's promise of a grant of lands, on which he offered homesteads to the Acadians. Wilmot begged the Lords of Trade to observe that, once settled in that district, the Acadians could open up communications

with France to the advantage of that country and to the injury of the interests of His Britannic Majesty.

To any one who remembers that the war had been over for a year, and that France owned nothing in America except two wretched little islands off the coast of Newfoundland, this pretext must appear frivolous. However, Wilmot's motives are most clearly expressed in his letter of March 22d, 1764:

"It has always been the opinion of this Government, and is at this time, that the settlement of them in the Province, is inconsistent with the safety of it. . . . If settled in any other Province, it should not be those of the neighboring Colonies of New England, for, I conceive, my Lord, that their vicinity to Nova Scotia, would, on all occasions, strongly induce them to be active in disturbing this Province, from the facility of returning into it, and the hopes that their assistance might be successful in regaining them the possession of it. . . . As to Canada, they would not be well treated or happy. . . . And, as Canada borders on this Province, I don't apprehend that it would be either safe for us, or satisfactory to them."

He ends by advising the Government to authorize him to deport them to the West Indies:

"It is on account of all these considerations, that I have, in my two former letters, offered to Your Lordships the measure of transporting them to some of the West India islands. There, cut off from the continent, and from all hopes of returning, they would content themselves with a settlement."

Lord Halifax, in his answer of June 9th, 1764, reiterates his wish to see the Acadians settle in Nova Scotia, "*in such parts of your Government as may be agreeable to themselves* consistent with the public peace and security."

The good intentions of the Lords of Trade were to be frustrated once more by Wilmot. To attain his end,

he tendered the Acadians an oath that was an insult to their religion, and offered them for settlement barren lands scattered here and there in the interior of the Province. He would not allow more than ten or fifteen families at most to settle in the same place, and moreover these settlements were far apart from each other. This isolation and ostracism paved the way to their complete extinction; it was contrary to the injunctions of Lord Halifax, who wished to let them settle "in such parts of your Government as may be agreeable to themselves." Scattered as they would be in widely distant groups, they could not get priests for their spiritual needs; they would lose their language, and perhaps their religion. The offer was unacceptable for another reason. Could they, in their present state of destitution, bury themselves in the forest and begin life anew without any such means of support as the neighborhood of the sea would have afforded them?

In this situation they finally understood that departure was a necessity, and they undertook it with a rush that was irresistible. One hundred and fifty of them near Canso applied to the local magistrate for permission to leave the country. In spite of his refusal they departed for the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon; and soon afterwards 600 others sailed for the West Indies. Wilmot winked at their preparations for departure; it was just what he wanted and had purposely provoked. Listen to him relating these incidents to Lord Halifax:

"I had the honor in my letter of the 9th of last month, to lay before Your Lordship some further particulars of the disposition of the Acadians, *after the oath of allegiance had been tendered to them, and offers of a settlement in this country.*

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"*Since that time, no reasonable proposals being able to overcome their zeal for the French, and aversion to the English Government, many of them soon resolved to leave this Province ; and having hired vessels at their own expense, six hundred persons, including women and children, departed within these three weeks for the French West Indies. And, although they had certain accounts, that that climate had been fatal to the lives of several of their countrymen, who had gone there lately from Georgia and Carolina, their resolution was not to be shaken, and, the remainder of them, amounting to as many more, in different parts of the Province, have the same destination in view.*"

After enumerating various reasons which make him consider this exodus an advantage for the Province, he adds:

"*All these reasons induced the Council, at which Lord Colville, His Majesty's Rear Admiral assisted, to be unanimously of opinion that they should be at full liberty to depart. . . . Their settlement in the West Indies removes them far from us, and, as that climate is mortal to the natives of Northern countries, the French will not be likely to gain any considerable advantage from them.*"

The measure of iniquity must have been full to overflowing, when it so exasperated the Acadians as to impel them to forsake their country, the home of their forefathers during five or six generations, in order to brave once more the dangers of the sea and seek an asylum in some far-off island, where the climate, they knew, had already killed their relatives and would, no doubt, again decimate their families. Of this Wilmot was well aware; three different times he had advised that they be deported to those fatal islands, and, having, by his remonstrances, prevented their migration to Miramichi, to Canada, or even to New England, in fact to any place whence it seemed to him possible they might return, he had prepared the present issue. We have

seen how he hypocritically told the Lords of Trade "that in Canada the Acadians would not be *well treated nor happy*." And yet do we not now see, from the letter just quoted, how he cannot hide from the Lords of Trade the delight he experiences at the thought that the West India climate will be *mortal* to them?

The Home authorities earnestly desired to offer the Acadians all the various alternatives they might wish, except that of settling on French territory; Wilmot offered them none. Neither Nova Scotia, the New England provinces, nor Canada suited him. In all these places they would or could come back and, possibly, by pressing their claims, endanger for him and his accomplices the quiet enjoyment of their spoils. To make the Acadians and himself happy, they had to go and die in the West Indies. This was the only course left to them. So much perversity is hardly credible, and I would have hesitated to believe and record it, had it not been clearly and unmistakably stated in Wilmot's own letters.

Surmising that this exodus would not be relished by the Lords of Trade, he imitated Lawrence, who sheltered himself under Boscawen's name. Wilmot invoked the opinion of Lord Colville. But the noble lord was interested in the departure of the Acadians, since, as we have seen in a preceding chapter, he also had a grant of their lands. Thus we have ever the same underhand methods with the same result.

This was the last act of that comedy which Lawrence, Belcher and Wilmot had been playing before the Lords of Trade for almost ten years. To prove conclusively that it was a comedy, with no evidence other than the garbled correspondence of the parties most interested

in concealing their motives from the Lords of Trade, might seem an astonishing achievement, were it not that facts have an eloquence of their own and that the most cunning tricksters occasionally betray their secret thoughts. As to the Lords of Trade themselves, taken up as they were with a multitude of other knotty questions, they may have failed to discern the plot of this comedy. Very likely they were not aware, at the time, of the way the lands of the Acadians had been divided up among the chief actors. The very sources of all their available information were poisoned. The Acadians were continually depicted to them as dangerous creatures, ever plotting against the security of the State. Not being informed of the schemes and real purposes of their representatives, could they refuse to believe that the statements of the latter were made in the interest of the public? And yet, despite the constant affirmations and subterfuges of the Governors, did not the Lords of Trade ever show a leaning to opposite measures more conformable to humanity and justice? No doubt it does seem as if no great sagacity was needed to detect premeditated deceit and ill-disguised cruelty in Wilmot; but perhaps Lord Halifax was too high-minded and conscientious himself to suspect him of such infamous projects.

By a strange coincidence of fate, Wilmot, who chuckled over the idea that the *climate* of the West Indies would kill the Acadians, requested leave of absence, a year after their departure, to restore his own health endangered by the *climate*. "*The cold winters of these Northern parts of America,*" he wrote, "*have so much increased the gout which afflicts me that my friends and the physicians assure me that I cannot survive*

another winter in this country." Like Lawrence and Boscawen he was not long allowed to enjoy the fruit of his iniquity; seventeen days after the date of this letter he expired, even before he could leave the climate that was killing him.

CHAPTER XLII.

Michael Franklin's long and fruitful administration (1766-1776)—

He does all in his power to carry out the wishes of the Home Authorities and to alleviate the distress of the Acadians—They settle wherever they please, at Prospect, Chezetcook, Isle Madame, Memramcook and other places—The d'Entremonts are restored to their former lands at Cape Sable—A party of 800 gather at Boston and settle mostly at Baie St. Marie.

AT Wilmot's death, in the whole extent of the Maritime Provinces, there remained only some fifteen hundred or two thousand Acadians. After eleven years of a persecution unprecedented in history, this was the only remnant of a population of 18,000 souls. If any of them had for a brief space cherished the hope that they might repossess their lands, their treatment by Lawrence, Belcher, and Wilmot must have convinced them that this hope was groundless; for we hear of no such claim. The spoilers had no longer anything to fear: the abject misery to which the scattered relics of this people were reduced, together with the long series of disappointments they had gone through, made the interests of their oppressors sufficiently secure.

Michael Franklin, who succeeded Wilmot, was as kind to the Acadians as the latter had been cruel to them. His whole administration shows that he made special efforts to alleviate their sufferings and to make them forget the wrongs they had endured. To be sure, the Home Government's positive instructions were to that effect; but he seems, in all his words and deeds,

to have acted in obedience rather to the impulse of his kindly nature than to the orders of his superiors. We may also note, by the way, how the Lords of Trade appear full of justice and good-will as soon as they cease to be deceived by interested misrepresentation.

"His Majesty," Lord Hillsborough writes to Franklin, "was so well pleased to find *by your letter* that the Acadians are so well disposed; this disposition should be encouraged by holding out every advantage that can be given to them consistent with public safety, and therefore you will not fail to give them the fullest assurances of His Majesty's favor and protection. . . . His Majesty considers *with tenderness* and attention the situation of those who have made settlements in Cape Breton under the protection of temporary licenses from the Government of Nova Scotia."

All subsequent letters of the Lords of Trade are in the same spirit, which also permeates Franklin's instructions to the officers or magistrates of the Province. He writes to Colonel Denson in the following touching terms, which breathe his humane feelings :

"Some of the Acadians who reside in King's County and at Windsor, have informed me that they have been warned to train with the other militia, which they conceive as a hardship, being unprovided with arms, and unable to purchase them just now, were they to be bought.

"I am therefore to desire that you do exempt them from mustering or training, until you have orders to the contrary. And I am further to signify to you, that it is the King's intention, and I do expect, they be treated *with all possible mildness and tenderness* upon every occasion."

Why this complete change of manner? How comes it that, under Lawrence, Belcher, and Wilmot, we hear nothing but complaints and fears, whereas now all is peace and contentment? What had happened? Nothing, save that a new governor, full of kindness, had

succeeded to men that had none, to governors who, for selfish motives, had purposely misled the Lords of Trade and worried the Acadians in every way. This accounts adequately for the change: falsehood and oppression on the one hand, rectitude and kindness on the other. The Acadians had not changed; but the wise and considerate administration of Hopson was revived by Franklin.

From the foregoing we may infer that the British Government was now fully informed of the injustice done to the Acadians and of the motives of their persecutors. Were it not so, those touching expressions of tenderness and solicitude on Lord Hillsborough's part would seem out of place in an official communication. Of course I do not advance this as a necessary inference; but there is cumulative and more cogent evidence to support it. Many incidents, some of which have been mentioned elsewhere in this work, show that, after the peace of 1763, public opinion, generally speaking, condemned the deportation. We have seen, for instance, that even in Lawrence's time, the censure of the citizens of Halifax was sufficiently pronounced to disquiet him and make him unbosom himself about it to his accomplice Boscawen. Such a proceeding on the part of so bold a man, who at that very time was manifesting in a thousand ways his contempt for the opinion of the persons under his jurisdiction, is fraught with significance.

So long as the war lasted, the civilized world had no leisure to examine into the causes and incidents of this deportation; but all this was changed when minds became calm after the peace of 1763. Witnessing the sufferings of these exiles, their migrations, their vain attempts to find their lost relatives, and to get back to

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their old home or make a new one, the public was moved to take an interest in their fate. Wherever the lot of these exiles was cast, the civilized world could bear testimony to their meekness and the purity of their morals, to their peaceable and laborious habits. The dismemberment of their families proved to all observers that the dispersion had been executed with cruelty; people were astonished that persons so virtuous could have deserved in any way so barbarous a punishment; this led to inquiries into the character of Lawrence, Belcher, and Wilmot, and soon the persuasion grew that a great crime had been committed. Outside of a small group at Halifax, condemnation became general. Students of history sought to clear up the mystery by consulting documents. Meanwhile, the authors of the deportation, or their sons, who either had the care of the Archives or easy access to them, became alarmed; they would have to explain, to justify themselves; they must do something to avoid exposure, to lessen the shame and obloquy that threatened them. Then began that withdrawal of documents which seems to have been practised at intervals for a long time.

Evidently it was public censure that provoked these withdrawals; else we should have to suppose that the documents were suppressed in dread of future disclosures, and this would be a still more convincing proof of guilt and shame.

"At last," says Rameau, "the frightful series of disasters which had befallen the Acadian people during eleven years, was drawing to a close. After having been proscribed, transported, retransported, plunged and replunged into want and misery, those who were left in Acadia had a breathing spell amidst the ruins

and deaths heaped up around them. . . . Each one settled as best he could in the place where fate had cast him. The prisoners around Halifax betook themselves, some to Prospect, south of the town, others to the north at Chezetcook, most of them to the Straits of Canso and to the Madame islands ; others, in fine, gathered together on the Baie des Chaleurs, at Nipisigny, Caraquette and Tracadie." * Perhaps the most fortunate were those who established themselves at Memramcook, on lands formerly occupied by them, where they could take advantage of clearings already made. Though these lands were still unoccupied, they had been granted, like all the rest, to favorites of the governors and councillors. These in particular had been granted to Frederick Wallet Desbarres, who had the wise foresight to allow many improvements to be made before asserting his claim. Happily the Acadians here, unlike those of the St. John River, were not obliged to quit. They obstinately clung to the soil, and ultimately they entered into an arrangement allowing them to keep the land on payment of a lease. Desbarres was satisfied with cultivating another property that had been granted to him at Menoudy, where later on he leased to the Acadians the farms which they had owned a few years before.†

Among the more favored were some families called d'Entremont of Cape Sable ; they were not only reinstated in their possessions but provided once more with legal titles to their property, and this was the beginning of the strong Acadian colony that has grown up there since that time. They owed this favor to the

* Rameau de Saint-Pere, *Une Colonie Féodale*, vol. II., pp. 178, 184.

† This Desbarres, thus enriched, subsequently became Governor of Cape Breton.

following incident.¹ About 1765, several members of this family, descended from the ancient barons of Pomfret (Pubnico), had set sail from Boston with the intention of taking up their abode in Quebec. When they put into port at Halifax, they met an English officer who recognized them and warmly welcomed them, because one of them had formerly saved his life. He dissuaded them from settling in Canada, promising to get their property and titles restored to them, which he succeeded in doing.

“ When peace was concluded in 1763 ”—I am quoting, with slight additions of my own, from Rameau—out of about 6,500 Acadians who had been deported to the United States, there remained a little more than one half. Often had they in vain begged the authorities to allow them to leave the place of their exile; but after the peace their homeward rush was irresistible. Divers groups made for Canada, where they settled, some at l'Acadie, near St. John, P. Q., others at Saint-Grégore, Nicolet and Bécancour, in the District of Three Rivers, and others at Saint-Jacques-l'Achigan, in all of which places they formed rich and prosperous parishes.

Those who had not been able to join this exodus, met together three years later in the spring of 1766, at Boston, with the intention of wending their way back to their lost and lamented Acadia. There then remained in foreign lands only a small minority, riveted to the spot by infirmity or extreme want. We must, however, except those who had been deported to Maryland, where the presence of English Catholics and of a few priests had made their

* Casgrain, *Pèlerinage au Pays d'Évangéline*.

† *Une Colonie Féodale*, vol. II., p. 185 et seqq.

lot less intolerable, and where some of their descendants may still be found.*

"The heroic caravan" which formed in Boston and determined to cross the forest wilderness of Maine on its return to Acadia, was made up of about 800 persons. "On foot, and almost without provisions, these pilgrims braved the perils and fatigues of a return by land, marching up the coast of the Bay of Fundy as far as the isthmus of Shediac, across 600 miles of forests and uninhabited mountains; some pregnant women of this pitiful band were confined on the way; I have known some of the sons of these children of sorrow, who told me this story as they had it from their fathers born in the course of this painful journey.

"No one will ever know all that these unfortunate people, forsaken and forgotten by everybody, suffered as they hewed their way through the wilderness; the many years gone by have long since stifled the echoes of their sighs in the forest, which itself has disappeared; all the woes of these hapless beings are now lost in the shadows of the past; others are joyously reaping harvests on their obliterated camping-grounds, and there hardly remains aught but a few dim traditions of this sublime and sorrowful exodus scattered among the fire-side tales of aged Acadians in the Bay of Fundy.

* General Phil. Sheridan was a grandson of one of these Acadians.

Abbé Robin, chaplain to the army of Comte de Rochambeau, has drawn a touching picture of the little Acadian colony at Baltimore in 1781: "They still keep up the French language and remain greatly attached to all that belongs to the nation of their ancestors, especially to their religion, which they follow with a strictness worthy of the first ages of Christianity. The simplicity of their manners is a remnant of what obtained in happy Acadia. . . . The sight of a French priest seemed to recall to them their former pastors. They begged me to officiate in their church. In fulfilling this holy function, I could not refrain from congratulating them on their piety and from depicting to them the virtues of their forefathers. I was reviving memories that were too dear; they burst into tears."

"In the wild paths that wound in and out through the interminable forests of Maine, this long line of emigrants walked painfully on; there were small groups of women and children, dragging the slender baggage of misery, while the men, scattering hither and thither, sought in the chase, in fishing and even among wild roots something wherewith to feed them. There were very small children, who were hardly able to walk and were led by the hand, the larger children carrying them from time to time; many of these unfortunate mothers held an infant in their arms, and the cries of these poor babes were the only sound that broke the gloomy and dismal silence of the woods.

"How many died on the way, children, women and even men? How many breathed their last, overpowered by weariness, suffering from hunger, sitting down to be forgotten forever in some wild path, without priest, without consolation, without friends? The last agony of death was embittered, for these innocent victims, by all the anguish of regret and neglect.

"While this sorrowful caravan advanced, some indeed were found whose failing strength refused to carry them any further; however all did not succumb, and one after another a few groups remained along the road to form the nuclei of future colonies. It was thus that, on the banks of the River St. John, several families fixed their abode amid the ruins of the settlements formerly occupied by the French in this district," where, in the ancient fief of Jemsek (of which *La Tour* had been the owner) and in that of Ekoupag, some few Acadian families still dwelt.

"When the column of exiles, thinned out by the fatigues of the journey, reached the banks of the Petit-

codiac, they had been four months on the road. There, at length, they could taste a few moments of repose and consolation; the first to come out at the foot of the wooded mountain-range along this river met there some men, half-hunters, half-husbandmen, who spoke their language, and among whom they were not slow to recognize fellow-countrymen and relatives. This was the remnant of the former inhabitants of Memramcook, Chipody and the isthmus of Shediak. . . . Buildings and clearings were already to be seen along the river bank, when the band of captives returning from the United States joined them at the close of the summer of 1766."

How touching must have been the meeting, after a separation of eleven years, of these beings whose hearts were wrung by a common calamity! Here, at least, the wayfarers could rest for a moment in peace after their excessive fatigues, without any risk of rebuff or ill-will from indifferent or hostile strangers; "the friends they had just found again were themselves very poor, but their welcome was cordial and sympathetic.

"Unfortunately, after this first burst of joy, they had to suffer a great heaviness of heart. They had cherished the hope that, away on the other side of the Bay of Fundy, at Beauséjour, Beaubassin, Grand Pré, Port Royal, they would find once more their lands and perhaps their houses, that they might be allowed to settle on the farms that were not yet occupied; but they soon realized that all this was a dream; everything had been allotted to their persecutors or to new colonists. The great and painful journey they had just made was now useless; they had no longer either home or country! These discouraging tidings overwhelmed

most of them ; they were utterly worn out, and, without seeking to advance, they remained on the very spot to which Providence had led them.

“ However a certain number of them could not believe that all was lost and that they were hopelessly despoiled of those rich lands, formerly wrested from the sea by the laborious skill of their forefathers. Fifty or sixty families, men, women and children, once more set out ; they rounded the innermost shore of the old Baie Française, which had become *Fundy Bay* ; they visited in turn Beaubassin, Pigiguit, Grand Pré ; but Beauséjour was now called *Cumberland* ; Beaubassin, *Amherst* ; Cobequid had taken the name of *Truro* ; Pigiguit, that of *Windsor*, and Grand Pré was named *Horton* ; everything was changed ! English names, English villages, English inhabitants ; wherever they appeared, they looked like ghosts come back from a past age ; nobody had thought of them for a long time.

“ The children were frightened at them, the women and the men were annoyed as by a threatening spectre from the grave, everybody was angry with them, and the poor wretches dragged themselves from village to village, worried and worn out by fatigue, hunger and cold, and a despair that grew at every halting-place ; the last was Port Royal (Annapolis), where the same irritation on the one hand and the same disappointment on the other were repeated.

“ Yet, what was to be done with this caravan of poor people in rags, weary unto death, crushed by want and grief ? The officers of the garrison adopted the plan of conducting them a little further south, on St. Mary's Bay, the unoccupied shores of which were lined with vast forests. The wretched Acadians, driven to ex-

haustion and despair by so many misfortunes, not knowing whither to go, allowed themselves to be led and so ended by stranding on this deserted shore, where lands were granted to them on December 23d, 1767. Thus, without counting the long tramps they had to undertake to meet together in Boston, they had traversed on foot a distance of about a thousand miles before reaching the end of their journey.

"The most cruel crosses do not always wholly crush human energy; the calm after the tempest, the faintest glimmer of hope reviving, allow our eased spirits to cling once more to life, to resume work and make a fresh start. Under pressure of necessity these unfortunate outcasts raised log-huts; they took to fishing and hunting; they began to clear the land, and soon out of the felled trees some roughly-built houses were put up." Such was the origin of the colony that now covers all the western portion of the Peninsula.

During many subsequent years there were numerous migrations. Acadians arrived from France, from the West Indies, from Louisiana, Canada and the United States, going from one settlement to another in search of a father, a mother, a brother, a relative whose whereabouts they had not yet found. Often death had claimed the long-sought one; sometimes, on the other hand, he that was supposed to be dead was unexpectedly discovered. Slowly the scattered members of one family succeeded, not infrequently, in all getting together once more. Those who were in better circumstances collected their poorer brethren around them; the bereavements of the past were gradually softened by new ties, and finally each group took on the aspect of a distinct and homogeneous community.

CHAPTER XLIII.

The war of Independence—The Loyalists—Condition of the Acadians—Their last disabilities removed.

THE forest was still echoing the sighs of these unfortunate Acadians returning from exile, when the first mutterings were heard of the storm that was, in a few years, to change the face of this continent. Subjects having the same origin and language, and professing Christianity were about to raise the standard of revolt against the Home Government. Noble as may have been the love of liberty that moved them, blameless as may have been their actions from the view-point of conscience, it is none the less certain that their grievances bore on purely material interests; their religious liberty was not threatened, nor were they forced to fight their own flesh and blood. Here a strange contrast presents itself. While the Acadians, who did not even lift a hand in defence of rights that were far higher and more worthy of respect, were despoiled, snatched from their homes, separated from each other, cast on far-off shores and there reviled, those who were the true rebels kept their lands and homes, and their chiefs have become heroes whose names, emblazoned on sumptuous monuments, are ringing in our ears like those of the demigods of fable. I do not pretend to deny that the consequences of the American Revolution, writ large on the achievements of more than a century, have on

the whole been greatly beneficial to mankind; but I cannot help noting this extraordinary contradiction. Those who were charged with the guardianship of the so-called Acadian rebels, and who crushed them for supposed misdeeds of which they were guiltless, were, when they themselves became rebels in reality, to remain in peaceful possession of their homes, while loyal subjects had to trudge into exile.

This reference to the war of Independence is necessary, because its consequences were disastrous to a certain number of Acadians. Room had to be made for the Loyalists who chose voluntary exile; the English authorities were naturally full of solicitude for their comfort, and wished to reward them for their fidelity to their Sovereign and for their self-denial; in some cases this was done at the expense of the Acadians. True, these latter had suffered for twenty-five years; but justice and vested rights they pleaded in vain. Thus it happened that a group of Acadians, who had been quietly living for eighteen years on lands which they were laboriously clearing on the St. John River, had to give up these lands to the newly-arrived Loyalists. Among these were several families of the officers who had contributed to carry out the deportation, in particular Colonel Winslow's family. The dislodged Acadians, forced to begin all over again the hard work of colonists, plunged once more into the forest in an almost inaccessible region. This last migration gave birth to the now populous and flourishing settlement of Madawaska.

Through another curious reversal of situations, emissaries from Washington and Lafayette attempted, though in vain, to win the reinstated Acadians from their alle-

giance to England, while some of the latter offered their services to the British Government,* and other Acadians who had remained on the American side offered theirs to Congress.† We have seen that the only reason why the Acadians had formerly objected to an unqualified oath was their dread of having to fight against the French; a similar perplexity was to occur in the war of Independence; but this time the objection was to come from the American colonists who in 1760 had settled on the lands of the Acadians. The objection was the same: what had rightly made the gorge of the Acadians rise was to excite the same repugnance in those who had succeeded to their property; but on this occasion the authorities readily realized the force of the sentiment that actuated these men, and unhesitatingly exempted them from military service: "Those of us," said the petition, "who belong to New England, being invited into this Province by Governor Lawrence's Proclamation, it must be *the greatest piece of cruelty* and imposition for us to be subjected to march into different parts *in arms against our friends and relations.*"

But the most curious incident of all was that the petitioners requested the same favor for the Acadians, alleging the same reason: "The Acadians among us being also under the same situation; most, if not all, having friends distributed in different parts of America, and that done by order of His Majesty's Government."

And yet these Acadians were not at all in the same position as they had been twenty years before; at the time of the Revolutionary War there were, at most, in

* "As to militia forces, 100 Acadians at St. Mary's Bay had volunteered." *Murdoch, Hist. of N. S., vol. II., p. 568.*

† After the war these volunteers settled at Chazy in Vermont.

the United States, 250 Acadians able to bear arms; thus, the chances of a meeting on the field of battle were extremely slight; whereas, before the deportation, the only white men they could have met in battle would have been relatives and fellow-countrymen. What a pity it is that people do not take to heart the great Christian maxim, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise," that they do not cultivate the faculty of entering into the feelings of others before proceeding to act against those others! This would save the most elementary notions of equity from travesty and violation; this would avert unnumbered crimes.

Although it had been decided, at Wilmot's suggestion, that the Acadians could settle only by small isolated groups in certain designated places in the interior, nevertheless these regulations were never strictly enforced. Each one was suffered to settle pretty much where he chose; and, as fishing immediately met their most pressing wants in a way that inferior lands far from the sea would have failed to do, most of the Acadians became fishermen. Up to the deportation agriculture had been their sole occupation; by force of circumstances fishing and navigation were henceforth to be their chief resource.

"At last," says Brown, "the scanty remnant of the ill-fated people was permitted to remain. The Government of Nova Scotia persecuted them with rancour, but this rage was at last restrained, and although the instructions were that they should be located by small groups in the interior, yet the orders were not rigidly enforced or obeyed. Some of the Acadians are dispersed along the shore with proper grants of the lands which they cultivate. It is even whispered that in some cases the lands belong to proprietors who have tacitly seen their progress, that they may be reclaimed at a future day. A

flagrant instance of this very kind has happened already; the same may occur again. The Government may find it necessary to favor the persecutor. The Acadian sufferings will be lost in the woods. Their voice will not reach the throne; mercy dwells there, and if *the voice of history* has any influence there, this matter should be at an end."

And, as if Brown himself had had the intention of drawing up a petition to be sent to the Secretary of State, we find this note following the above remarks:

"Sir,—Your Acadian subjects have suffered long enough, issue an order to the Government to confirm all their possessions, to give them full right to their estates, become their patron, announce it openly, and their melodious voices will pray for you in the depths of their woods."

This was written in 1791, thirty-six years after the first deportation.

For a long time in the whole extent of Nova Scotia only one priest was tolerated; but in 1777, as the Indians of the River St. John, solicited by emissaries of Congress, threatened to rise in support of the rebellious provinces, Governor Arbuthnot begged the Governor of Canada to send a priest who should keep these Indians faithful to the British Government. This was done, and Abbé Bourg, himself an Acadian, addressed himself to this undertaking with success in concert with ex-Governor Franklin, who had become Indian Commissioner. However, general permission to enter the Province was not granted to the Catholic clergy till about 1793, when many priests fled from the French Revolution and several came to Nova Scotia. Henceforth every obstacle to their ministry was removed.

There yet remained one clog to the freedom of the Acadians, and this was continued until 1827. The Test Oath excluded them from all public

offices. Haliburton, seconded by Mr. Uniacke, undertook to knock off this last fetter. "The speech he pronounced on this occasion," says Murdoch, "was the most magnificent piece of eloquence I have ever been privileged to hear." The Assembly, electrified by this masterly discourse, unanimously voted the law that made the Acadians a free people. Omitting Haliburton's thrilling recital of their misfortunes and his remarkable eulogy of their morals, I will quote merely the end of his peroration, which is an index to the loftiness of his character.

"Every man who puts his hand on the New Testament and says that is the book of his faith—be he Catholic or Protestant, Anglican or Presbyterian, Baptist or Methodist—whatever be the extent of the points of doctrine that separate us, he is my brother and I embrace him. We are marching by different roads toward the same God. In the path which I am treading, if I meet a Catholic I greet him, I walk on with him; and when we reach unto the goal, unto those *flammantia limina mundi*, when the time shall come, as come it must, when this tongue, which now is speaking, shall be cold and stiff in my mouth, when this breast, which now breathes the pure air of heaven, shall refuse me its service, when this vesture of clay shall go back to the bosom of the earth whence it came and mingle with the dust of the valleys, then, with this Catholic, I will cast a long and languishing look backwards. I will kneel with him, and instead of saying with the presumptuous Pharisee: 'Thank God, I am not like this Papist!' I will pray that, both of us being of the same blood, being bought by the same blood, we may both be pardoned, and that, being brothers, we may both be received into heaven.'"

¹ Translated from a French Translation.

CHAPTER XLIV.

The Acadians in England, France, Guiana, San Domingo, Hispaniola, Louisiana, Canada—Their many transmigrations—Awful rate of mortality—General Statistics.

SAD as was the fate of the Acadians deported to the United States, and of those who escaped the deportation by taking refuge in the forests of the Gulf, or by making their way through the wilderness to Canada, it cannot be compared to the fate of those who were deported to England or France, not so much because they were ill-treated or more wretched, but because, for most of them, the uncertainty of their sorrowful existence was much more prolonged than in the case of the exiles on this side of the Atlantic.

After the peace of 1763 all the Acadians then in England went over to France. A great number of these belonged to the fifteen hundred who had been deported to Virginia, and whom the Virginians would not receive. They had been much longer at sea than the others, and, as will readily be understood, the mortality in these overladen ships must have been proportionately greater. The memoir of M. de la Rochette, who was employed in taking a census of the Acadians in England and in transferring them to France, gives us an idea of the magnitude of their trials and of the great mortality. Decimated during the voyages from Acadia to Virginia, and from Virginia to England, they were again deci-

mated during their sojourn at Liverpool, Southampton, Peryn and Bristol. Consequently, after eight years of captivity, in spite of the births, their number was reduced by more than one third. "Dispersed," said M. de la Rochette, "in all parts of this kingdom, a great many of them perished of want and grief. Three hundred had landed at Bristol, where they were not expected; they spent three days and nights on the wharves of the city, exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, and it was winter. They were at last shut up in some dilapidated houses, where small-pox killed a great part of them." M. de la Rochette afterwards went to Liverpool, where he visited them and told them his errand. "Tears," he says, "succeeded the first exclamations of joy. Several seemed quite beside themselves; they clapped their hands, raised them to heaven, struck themselves against the walls and sobbed all the time. It would be impossible to describe all the transports to which these good people gave way: they spent the night blessing the King and his ambassador and congratulating each other on the happiness they were about to enjoy. When they arrived at Liverpool they numbered 336, and now they are reduced to 224."

At Southampton they had dwindled from 340 when they landed to 219; the proportion of deaths was substantially the same in the other ports.

Counting those who were already in France, the total number of Acadians in that kingdom after the peace, and after the arrival of those who had been in England, was about 4,500, scattered in the ports of Granville, Saint-Malo, Boulogne, Rochefort, La Rochelle and Brest. Their fate is but vaguely known. France had

no public lands to offer them within her boundaries, and the few colonies she still possessed were in climates where the tropical heat was unsuited to men accustomed to cold countries; yet these poor people longed for agricultural holdings. Four hundred of them were placed at Belle-Isle-en-Mer, where each colonist received a lot, a house, a cow, a horse, three sheep and the necessary tools, besides military rations during some time. An allowance of six sous a day for five years was given to each of the Acadian children born in England, and the same sum for life to those who were born in Acadia. This colony dates from 1765, and it is the only place in France where there still remains a compact group of Acadians.

"Many plans and projects were formed," says Rameau, "in order to procure for these poor people a home and some means of subsistence which they might make profitable; some proposed to send them to Corsica, others to the Landes. These proposals were not carried out; but detachments were sent off to San Domingo, Guiana, the Leeward Islands and the Falkland Isles. They could not stay anywhere, nor create prosperous settlements; they were out of their element and sorely tried by climates so different from their own."¹ Out of several hundred who went to Guiana in 1764, only a few returned to France; eighteen months later the rest were all dead.

"Count d'Estaing, when Governor of Hispaniola," says Smith, "commiserated these people in their misfortune, and invited them to his island, setting apart a particular district to their use. A considerable colony availed themselves of the Count's offer; but neither they nor their kind benefactor had taken into consideration the danger attending a change of abode to a tropical climate. The result

¹ *Une Colonie Féodale*, vol. II. p. 216.

was that pestilence broke out among them even before they could prepare themselves dwellings. A large number of them died there, and the rest were forced to emigrate to a different climate. Their kind benefactor, on learning of their shocking mortality, went to visit their settlement. He found them in the most pitiable plight, crawling under the bushes, to screen themselves from the torrid sun, and lying down to die."

"We might," says Rameau, "reconstruct the history of a considerable number of families brought from Prince Edward Island to Louisburg, transported from Louisburg to England in 1758, from England to France in 1763, and from France to Guiana in 1764; then, brought back to France in 1765 after the disaster of Kourou, they were quartered in the island of Aix, whence they were taken to Rochefort. After a sojourn of some years in this place, some of these Acadians were sent to Limousin, to M. de Saint-Victour's estate; but they remained there only a short time and were advised to go, in 1772, to Saint-Malo, where they were met by M. de Peyrusse, who took with him more than a hundred families."¹ They remained a few years on the lands he gave them to till in Poitou at Archigny, Cenan, Bonneuil-ma-Tour and Maillé; but the soil was poor and the whole country had a gloomy and desolate look that contrasted painfully with the rich valleys and the smiling landscapes of the Bay of Fundy. In the midst of this isolated and silent wilderness, these families could not make up their minds to consider this their lasting home; they mourned inconsolably for their dear Acadia and for so many relatives scattered far and wide. Accordingly when, after a few years, the Spanish Government made them advantageous proposals for a settlement in

¹ *Une Colonie Féodale*, vol. II. p. 226.

Louisiana, most of these families, together with a great number of others, dwelling elsewhere in France, eagerly accepted them. From 1784 to 1787 a strong current of Acadian emigration set in from France to Louisiana. Of 4,500 Acadians in France in 1763, there remained scarcely eight hundred; those who were at San Domingo and other West India islands had taken the same direction long before. Thus it was not till thirty years after the first deportation, and after suffering all the heart-burnings of separation, exile, death, misery in its multitudinous forms, in fact, all imaginable ills, that this stricken remnant could at length find a lasting asylum.¹

¹ It is impossible to estimate exactly what remained, ten or fifteen years after the deportation, of the 18,000 exiles. Rameau, who took great pains to collect statistics, thinks there must have been 11,500 in 1766. Calculating on the basis of the natural increase during the fifty years that preceded the deportation, the 18,000 would have been 37,000 in 1766; but, apart from a considerable decrease in the number of births, we must suppose enormous mortality among the children.

To arrive at an approximate figure, we must follow the exiles through their successive migrations to the place of their final settlement. Few or none remained in England; about 700 in France, and at most 800 in the United States, of whom more than two-thirds were at Baltimore and about fifty at Chazy in Vermont, where, after serving in the army during the war of Independence, they received grants of land. The number of those who definitely settled in Guiana, San Domingo and other West India islands is insignificant. About 1,500 joined in the Maritime Provinces the 2,500 who were already there in 1765.

Taking into account all these migrations, we find the following result:

France	700
United States.....	800
Maritime Provinces, Gaspé, Magdalen Islands, Newfoundland coast, St. Pierre and Miquelon	4,000
Louisiana.....	2,500
Province of Quebec.....	3,500
Other places.....	500
	12,000

Rameau, as we have seen, counts only 11,500; but I think he is 500 short as regards the Province of Quebec. Conversely, I may be mistaken in my estimate for other places, particularly for Louisiana, where statistics are less accurate owing to the constant immigration thereto from France during 32 years. What seems almost certain is that in 1790 the Acadian population of Louisiana was 4,000.

Deducting from the above total of 12,000 some 2,000 children born after the deportation, and still living in 1766, we find that the deported popula-

Let him whose heart is not of flint, let him whose mind is capable of receiving an impress from without and of realizing the feelings of his fellowman put down this book for a few moments. Let him reconstruct in thought the long and dolorous pilgrimage of these wretched exiles; let him view them prisoners for weeks at Grand Pré, Port Royal and Beaubassin; despoiled of everything, their very houses burnt; huddled on board ship, separated from their relatives and sometimes from their wives and children; let him follow them down to the hold in a fetid atmosphere, buffeted by the waves, driven back by the authorities of the port to which they were destined, sent off to England, held captive there for eight long years; decimated everywhere by death; transported to France, dwelling here and there in that kingdom during several years; re-embarking for Guiana and the West Indies; decimated again; returning to France and sojourning there some years longer; after thirty years of this unrelenting deluge of despair, crushed by the burden of woe, prematurely aged by care, worn out by grief and misery, going at last to end their wretched lives in the solitudes of Louisiana. When the reader shall have given a moment's meditation to these scenes and calculated the sum

tion of 18,000 souls was reduced to 10,000 in 1766, whereas by normal increase, had the deportation not taken place, it would have easily become 25,000.

At the present time the entire Acadian race is represented approximately as follows:

Maritime Provinces, Magdalen Islands, Gaspé, Saint-Pierre et	
Miquelon, Newfoundland (unmixed).....	180,000
French Canada (somewhat mixed with the French Canadians).....	100,000
Louisiana (unmixed).....	40,000
France (Belle-Ile-en-mer—Poitou).....	} Absorbed.
Other parts of the United States.....	

270,000

of anguish which they represent, let him ask himself if ever a more dramatic and heart-rending fate befell a whole nation or even a handful of persons, and this, not by the chances of war, but by the cold-blooded greed of rulers robbing unarmed and peaceful subjects. With all this in full view, was it seemly in Parkman to ridicule the sentimentality of his fellow-countrymen and purposely to falsify history in order to stamp upon a down-trodden people?

"When a single household," says Smith, "has been stripped of shelter and effects by a sudden unavoidable calamity, the occasion is one that calls forth the sympathy of the whole community. Here we have thousands of Acadian exiles, who had lost all, by a common calamity, in obedience to the command of those in authority.

"Many a mother has clasped her babe more closely to her breast as she has recalled the circumstances, yet fresh in the mind of every reader, of those ancient parents, who, for so many long years have been wearily searching for their kidnapped boy, until their fortune is spent, and their foreheads have become wrinkled with the living sorrow: the fate of those parents but illustrates the experience of the *French Neutrals*, who passed their lives in searching for members of their families which had been purposely scattered to prevent their reunion."

For nearly two thousand years legendary history, embellished by the poets, has been perpetuating the memory of Æneas fleeing from his home with his father Anchises on his back. Not a few pulses have throbbed more quickly at the story of the Trojan warrior's flight and filial love, though, even were it true, it was but a transient episode in the lives of two men. And yet here we have undoubted facts about a whole people, with whose misfortunes the brief woes which Æneas calls "unspeakable" can in no wise be compared; and these misfortunes were inflicted upon them eighteen

centuries after Christ in a Christian country. No, Mr. Parkman ; you may continue, if you choose, your work of falsification ; but kindly leave poets and novelists to their noble labor of love, suffer those whose compassionate souls wince at a tale of suffering and turn with loathing from the unjust oppression of the weak by the strong, suffer such, I say, to reveal what you have striven to hide, suffer them to unmask the cupidity that is the mainspring of this drama, and to give to the hapless victim the tribute of a tear. Every Acadian still carries a wound in his heart ; rip it open if you will, but let sympathetic hearts, let consolers come to us, for we hunger for the bread of consolation. Let the balm they pour on our wounds counteract the gall you have injected there. Bear with the poets, when they compassionate our sufferings and hold out to us the right hand of friendship. "Friendship," as Haliburton so eloquently said in the discourse I mentioned above, "is natural to the heart of man ; it is like the ivy that seeks the oak, clings to its trunk, embraces its branches and surrounds them with superb festoons ; it climbs to the tree-top and there waves its banner of foliage above the oak's head, as if glorying in having conquered the king of the forests." Believe me, Mr. Parkman, mankind is and ever will be amenable to noble and generous sentiments ; you have not acquired such prestige as would enable you effectually to close against poets and novelists that abundant wellspring which immortalized Longfellow and will yet, I trust, immortalize others of your countrymen. If civilization is due to the development of the mind and the spread of knowledge, still more is it the outcome of the culture of the will. Now the seat of the will is in the heart. Therefore, if

you rightly move the heart of man, you civilize him, you make him a man of good will. The heart is the royal road through which all civilization must pass.¹

¹ Abbé Casgrain thinks he noticed, in the Acadian women of the maritime provinces, an expression of gentle sadness and resignation, which seemed to him to contrast visibly with the sprightly and cheerful faces of their French Canadian sisters. Such generalizations may be rather hazardous; however, in view of the fact that the character and the facial characteristics of a people are the combined result of a multitude of causes, some apparently slight but continuous through long periods of time, others far-reaching though seemingly transient, it would not be astonishing, after all, if the misfortunes that overwhelmed a whole generation had fixed upon the descendants of that generation an indelible stamp of quiet melancholy.

CHAPTER XLV.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

WHILST in other countries historical records are being diligently hunted up for the slightest new detail of ages long since gone by, here, on the contrary, as there has been crime, its authors have tried to consign all memorials to oblivion by destroying every reminder of the past. Beauséjour, Gaspereau, Grand Pré, Beaubassin, Port Royal, sweet-sounding names, so full of memories, so familiar a hundred and fifty years ago, exist no longer except for lovers of history and antiquarians. Patient research is needed to find the spot where stood the village of Grand Pré; soon nothing will be left, and historians of the future will dispute about the location of these places as those of our own day are wrangling over the site of Babylon, Troy and so many other cities of ancient heathendom. But it will be otherwise with the history of the Acadians. This lost chapter, destroyed by guilty hands, will revive; the history of it will be reconstructed with fragments that have escaped destruction. The murderer does not always secure immunity from the penalty of his crime by not writing a description thereof, or by effacing whatever he may, in an unguarded moment, have written about it, or by the fact that the deed was not done in the light of day. Justice, though sometimes slow, almost always ends by detecting the best laid plots and by visiting them with

condign retribution. This retribution in the present case, in spite of contrary efforts, is under way, and methinks, is already at hand. The search is still going on; if circumstances allow, I will endeavor to contribute thereto; and I feel confident that new discoveries will soon completely rend the veil that still hides a portion of the truth.

Were we to indulge in mere sentiment, we could wish to see this little Acadian nation, dispersed but not annihilated, remain what it was of yore, with its simple tastes, with all those idiosyncrasies that make it so dear to our memories; but the law of progress is there, standing before it in its inexorable might, saying to it: March onward, or you will be left behind, perhaps stamped out. This command must be obeyed, the pace must be quickened, the conflict faced, the conquest of progress achieved; and yet it is a painful conquest, which will hasten the merging of that beloved nation in the great homogeneous family of peoples foreshadowed by the future. To die of its own victory, such is the fate, remote, perchance, but inevitable, that awaits it!

The past teaches us a lesson we should do well to reflect upon and profit by. It applies not only to the Acadian people but also to the clergy, whose mission it was to guide them in the spiritual way, and who had the power to lead them likewise along the paths of intellectual progress. To have made of them, or at least helped to make them the sober, hard-working, moral people we know, was certainly to deserve high praise; but we cannot forget that education is essential to the future of a people; it was so then and is still more so now. That artless simplicity of theirs, due

in a measure to blissful ignorance, gave a handle to the nefarious projects formed against them and left them an easy prey to men as full of ambition as they were devoid of conscience. No such successful trap can be laid for an entire people, if they are enlightened and nerved for conflict by a suitable course of mental training, which lets them discern the motives of their aggressors and enables them vigorously to uphold their rights. What was true in those days is doubly true to-day. We must develop more and more that manly and practical education which gives self-reliance, initiative, conscious power, strong individuality. Thus, when the solemn occasion arrives, when the hour of danger strikes, we shall have men fashioned for the stern struggle of life, who know how to meet difficulties and baffle the perverse designs of their foes. *Si vis pacem, para bellum.* Inure the mind to robustness as you would the body, train the intellect in every kind of mental tilt, accustom it to find within itself the leverage it needs; and we shall march onward and upward, we shall grow to the full stature of militant manhood, and then we shall be respected. It is a truism to say that modern progressive nations owe their development, their greatness, their wealth, their influence to the efforts they have made to promote education. Ours is it, then, to choose whether we shall enter more resolutely into the general forward movement and take our share of the riches, consideration and influence it carries with it, or dance attendance upon others, condemning ourselves to be the hand that toils and drudges, when we might be the head that commands. In return for the wasting of our muscular energy we

shall get nothing but the crumbs that fall from the table, while brain work will seat itself at the banquet. We have to choose between being masters or servants; it is the quantity and more especially the quality of our education that will make that choice possible.

This is not the time to linger over a bootless contemplation of a past that is gone never to return. The manners of one period do not suit another. By all means let us revere the past, let us study it, but rather in order the better to understand the present and the future. Whatever helps on our interests to-day will be so much laid up for to-morrow. Between past and present, between present and future the connection is not always easy to discern; it is quite invisible to him that loves the past alone and scorns the present. It is the perception of this connection that will wean us from the past by teaching us that, on the whole, the human race does not go backwards, and, above all, that no retrograde movement can be universal with education and a proper use of liberty. At all events, whatever be our view of what has been and what is, it behooves us to submit to reality and face the inevitable.

Liberty and knowledge bear us onward with accelerated speed toward a future that is ever-changing; the absence of these two gifts has ever held mankind stationary and fixed in one spot. Now, as oppression and ignorance cannot be good, so liberty and knowledge cannot be in themselves evil. These latter may, of course, like all blessings, be abused, and must, therefore, be directed by the higher interests of morality; but he alone can thus direct them who understands and loves

them and admires a beneficent Providence gradually lifting humanity out of the sloughs of misery and abjectness. All the works of God are linked together. Natural science is a synthesis of the laws of nature, and the application of this knowledge constitutes material progress. These laws being from God, to repudiate progress would be to repudiate the work of God. Each generation marks a stage in the progress of the race; the onward thrust is irresistible, it carries with it the masses, while modifying and transforming into regenerative lessons the errors of a disappearing past. Science, belief, legislation, methods of action, all things are linked together in this world. With the development of knowledge and ideas, everything, save a small number of unchangeable truths definitely grasped, must progress in man's environment. This movement is becoming more marked from day to day; it is resistless, because it is a law of our being. Whatever stands in the way of this transformation is flung aside like the garments we have outgrown, and is carried off by the rising flood. We must advance or be crushed, march on or be distanced, move with the tide or be engulfed in it.

For want of realizing the high moral tendency of material progress, certain minds see naught but confusion and decadence in what is going on around us; in their eyes mankind made constant progress until this or that epoch, but from that time forth it entered on a path that is everywhere beset with threatening peril. How much more wise, rational and harmonious would it be to recognize a constant evolution, lifting up the barbarian and leading him gradually on towards an indefinite progress, which never halts or only halts long enough

to let him, as he gropes about, study and understand the path he must follow.

The gigantic strides of material progress in our day, while whetting the appetite for pleasures that had heretofore fallen to the lot of the privileged few, may have made people lose sight, for a moment, of the moral progress that ought to be the motive and object of all material advancement. The suddenness of the transformation may have unhinged men's minds and thrown them off their balance; they forgot that unmixed good is rarely met with, and that every evil has its antidote at hand. But for any one who takes the trouble to dive beneath the surface of events it will be easy to see that, in many respects, social and Christian progress has been already little, if at all, inferior to the triumphs of matter. The reign of persecution and cruelty is well-nigh ended; national and religious animosities are on the eve of extinction; the generality of men, instead of feasting on the sufferings of their fellows, show a marked tendency to become indulgent and tender-hearted. Slavery, which was the most articulate expression of barbarism, is no longer tolerated. These progressive steps in social morality, of incalculable value for the manners and religious development of men, are, without doubt, corollaries of scientific, educational and material progress. If social and Christian progress has not yet done itself full justice, it is, nevertheless, a mighty reality; it is an earnest that that harmony which ought to reign throughout the universe really exists between the different kinds of progress and especially between science and morality. A distinguished writer has said: "When the grapes, flung by the basketful, are pressed, what is the first result? A mess, a scum, a seething ferment. . .

Wait for the necessary period and you will have wine." So is it sometimes with material progress.

It has taken nearly twenty centuries of incubation and hidden labor for the civilized world to penetrate into the inner mind of Christianity and view the high social results that flow therefrom. These results have been not, indeed, produced, but greatly favored by scientific and material progress; so true is it that all sorts of progress are linked together. And may we not indulge the consolatory hope that these results will ultimately lead us to the reign of goodness, of truth, of justice, of the love of humanizing ideas, of true brotherhood; so that then will be realized, in its most exalted sense, that prayer we utter every day: Thy Kingdom come?

These strivings after high ideals, these constant aspirations towards a social status more in keeping with justice and solidarity, point to that great current of humanizing tendencies, the source of which is on the top of Calvary, and the waters of which are bearing us onward to a future age when the making capital out of man, the shameful pauperizing of the masses, culpable ignorance, and the horrors of war shall be no more. The world has been terrorized by threats and mortal dread, whereas Jesus wished to reign through love and charity.

In the conflict of Christian civilization, in the struggle between ignorance and error, the army that is fighting for us is made up of diverse elements which often seem to hinder and paralyze each other. Let us not peevishly complain of the slowness of this, or the rashness of that other ally; both may delay and both may ensure the victory. In France, under the first Republic and the Empire, victories were won rather by impetuosity. It was this *furia francese* that enabled Bonaparte

to overrun Europe with his conquering armies and to humble the coalition of Kings. In 1870 it was the wise slowness of heavy artillery that brought France in her turn to her knees. Catholicism is that artillery, often cumbersome, which, at a given moment, will make amends for the rash haste of outpost skirmishers and make victory sure. The life of societies, like that of individuals, is a conflict; to quit the ranks is to court death and oblivion. The evolution which is urging social fabrics toward horizons that are either unknown or dimly outlined through the thick mist of our ignorance, carries along with it the most conservative elements of society. This evolution, ardently desired by some, unobserved by the majority of men, combated by others, and extending its sway over every one, finds in Catholicism the most determined support of established order as well as the element that most successfully withstands the onset of injudicious innovation. It is more friendly to order and stability than to progress; it dreads the precipitate courses, the sudden enthusiasms, the shocks and random jolts of the latter. It may delay progress, sometimes, however, at an opportune moment, it will make a move to the front in order to decide, by its guidance, the victory of Christian progress and civilization. For instance, in our time, Leo XIII, in the shape of an explicit recognition of Republican forms in France, has done more for the future than could have been accomplished by the most skilful combinations of diplomatists and statesmen. Each progressive step taken by an essentially conservative body is a much more valuable and lasting acquisition than would be a similar proceeding on the part of a liberal or radical element. In spite

of its slowness, its changeless character, the apparent inflexibility of its principles, Catholicism will not fail to lend itself to the evolutions germane to the life of mankind. As was recently said by an eminent Catholic orator, Count Albert de Mun, "Pope Leo XIII has taken his stand squarely in the forefront of democracy."

Each element contributes its quota to the general advance. A few years more or less cannot affect the issue, and they count for little in the long lapse of ages. Provided that, on the whole, mankind is not too violently hurled ahead or thrust backward, we can accommodate ourselves, without loud complainings, to achieved results.

History is but an agglomeration of useful teachings; and the horrible drama which I have striven truthfully to penetrate and expose has its own special instructiveness. To touch the heart of man is to make him better; and if this pitiable and unjust fate of a people had no other effect than this, it would yet be a lesson laden with fruitful germs. Deeds of cruelty, such as have been chronicled in these pages, would be impossible to-day. At the first move of a new Lawrence, the cry of indignation wrung from the witnesses of his crime would instantly be echoed in the four quarters of the civilized globe.

Taught by experience in the school of misfortune, let us, the sons of those hapless Acadians, understand that we should devote ourselves to the noble cause of education; let us enter manfully on the path of that progress which will win for us an honorable place among the nationalities with whom our lot is cast. Let us be friends of order, lovers of our country, living in peace and harmony with our compatriots of a different origin;

but, above all, let us preserve that high morality which has secured for us so much sympathy in our misfortunes from the very men who might have been interested in condemning us. Nor should we forget that the real motives which brought on our misfortunes were unknown, that those who espoused our cause—and they were the majority—had, in order to do so, to go counter to their natural feelings and to condemn acts which they believed to be referable to the Home Government. This will make it easier for us to forgive and forget. At the same time we may derive comfort from the thought that, sooner or later, the entire truth will issue in all its splendor from the well in which our persecutors thought they had forever drowned it.

Oh! if we could only blot out from our memory these sad recollections! Why is there not, as the old fable tells us, a river whose waters make one forget the past? What people are pleased to call the blessing of education is precisely what increases our grief; by feeding our fancy and refining our feelings, it revives and quickens in us the sorrows of a past that will not let itself be forgotten. The pains and hardships that are the outcome of our own misdeeds or of every-day misfortunes are easily forgotten; not so the pangs produced by injustice and especially by the injustice of the Government on which we depend. If only that authority, to which we owe respect and obedience, but to which, in the present condition of things, we cannot give our love, had the magnanimity to acknowledge the injustice of its past and to seek to repair that injustice in any degree, such a reparation would be generous, grand, noble, and—an important consideration—it would be highly politic. A measure of this sort would wipe out at one stroke all

the bitterness of our recollections ; all would be effectually forgotten and effaced ; the germ of hate that still perhaps ferments in more than one breast would be transformed into a germ of gratitude and love and find voice in a concert of praise that would echo through the whole civilized world, the beneficent fruits of which England would reap among all those peoples whom she has conquered without assimilating them by winning their love and gratitude. There is much boasting about the sun never setting on her dominions. This pride is based on merely one sentiment, that of power. Will the day ever dawn when England will have made enough progress in civilization to take more pride in saying that the sun never sets on a wrong done by its Government ? Will the time ever come when all those emblems of wild beasts : teeth, horns, claws, etc., which are proudly flaunted on red, white and blue rags, will disappear and be replaced by emblems more in keeping with a truly Christian civilization ?

For 137 years we Acadians have, day by day, seen the sun set on this wrong, the ghost of which haunts us unceasingly. Often, it is true, have sympathetic writers applied balm to our wounds ; but how much sweeter would be the thought that this wrong has been righted or at least acknowledged by the Government itself ! Great, indeed, would be our joy if such a consolation were offered to us. Since this deportation was executed without cause and against the orders of the only competent authority—the Home Government—the confiscation of our property by the local authority, by the despoiler, was, from the first, null and void ; and therefore our claim to reinstatement or to compensation cannot be questioned. As this solution would be embarrassing

and onerous, we would ask nothing more than that a certain sum be devoted to the founding of a college for higher education for the benefit of the Acadians of the Maritime Provinces, or that the two existing Acadian colleges be liberally endowed. The struggle for existence is still very hard for these Acadians; robbed of the rich farms they owned, the sons of the exiles had to become fishermen, coasters, mechanics; those who took to farming again were forced to do so on soil of a very inferior quality; hence it is only at the cost of heroic sacrifices that they have succeeded in founding these two colleges. It would be a noble, though slight, reparation of the past to place these two institutions on a footing that would make them more efficient; this would, moreover, win the gratitude of all the young men who should profit by this generous deed and also of all the educated Acadians who mould the opinions of their countrymen. And, if this small satisfaction be deemed excessive, we should be glad of any declaration, of any pronouncement implying acknowledgment, regret or amends for the wrongs we have suffered. Is this hoping too much? Corporations are said to have no souls; is this true of governments?

APPENDIX.

No. I.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

THE appearance of this work, more than a year after Mr. Parkman's death, calls for a few words of explanation. While writing it, I fully expected that my statements would meet his eye, and, possibly, be challenged by him. At the time of his death my manuscript was almost complete. There being then no reason for haste, and my health having suffered from excessive application, I went to spend five months in California. Since my return from Los Angeles, I have been busy making arrangements and providing ways and means for the publication of these volumes, throughout which I have preserved, in referring to Mr. Parkman, the expressions I used when I thought they might be read by him.

Mr. Parkman's death, depriving me of part of the object I had in view, came upon me with the suddenness of an unexpected shock and the keenness of a great disappointment.

Much praise has been indulged in by his many admirers since his death, and more particularly by the Rev. Julius Ward in McClure's Magazine of January, 1894. Mr. Parkman had the wise foresight to present to the Massachusetts Historical Society an oaken cabinet containing his manuscript volumes and the documents which he followed. His object, so says Mr. Ward, was to enable critics to estimate the correctness of his writing, and, probably also, to allow his friends to defend him.

Mr. Ward, moreover, informs us that Mr. Parkman was

so accurate, so trustworthy, so impartial, so careful in all details, that history as written by him is final. Such an assertion is, to put it mildly, rash. All this praise, some of it well deserved, can have no effect on one who, like myself, has found him out; it is the obvious result of Parkman's plausibility and unparalleled astuteness.

Now may have come the opportunity for the oaken cabinet. For my part, I have endeavored to dispense with any such collection, by giving room to my sources of information in the text itself, readily sacrificing the attractiveness of the narrative to the higher purpose of affording, to the earnest inquirer after truth, the best available data for forming an independent and reasonable judgment.

In this connection it may be well to point out how my researches have brought to light a most curious instance of the progressive distortion which history may be made to suffer under the skilful manipulation of unscrupulous men. The Compiler, confronted, on the one hand, with a collection of documents already mutilated by interested persons, and, on the other, by the public opinion of a hundred years condemning the act which it was his business to throw into clearer relief, sets to work to garble and distort the scraps that had escaped destruction. Far from fulfilling the mission entrusted to him by the Legislature, far from furnishing matter for real history, his compilation, by the very fact of its issuing under such high patronage, of its consequent claim to impartiality, and of its facilitating the labor of research, would inevitably constitute, for the average student of history, a barrier to further inquiry, and would thus pave the way for Lawrence's defenders. Such must have been the Compiler's purpose. Sooner or later some bold writer would be found to realize it and stamp it with the semblance of finality. That writer is Parkman. Trenchant assertions, positive and precise conclusions and all the other resources of his profound craftiness have been brought to bear upon a fresh mutilation and a further distortion of the Compiler's distorted and twice garbled collection. After

Parkman, as might have been expected, other writers would arise who, with less knowledge of the subject, would improve on his system of suppression or at least of unwarrantable inference. This process of progressive distortion must have pretty nearly reached its utmost limit in the following lines :

"The Maritime Provinces,—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, cover, at least the first two of them cover, the area of the old French Acadie, which, submerged by the tide of conquest, shows itself only in the ruined fortifications of Louisburg, once the Acadian Gibraltar, in remains of the same kind at Annapolis, and in a relic of the French population. The name, with the lying legend of British cruelty connected with it, has been embalmed, not in amber but in barley-sugar, by the writer of 'Evangeline.'

"Lieutenant-Governor Adam Archibald, Mr. Parkman, and Dr. Kingston have completely disposed of this fiction, and shown that the deportation of the Acadians was a measure of necessity, to which recourse was had only when forbearance was exhausted. The blame really rests on the vile and murderous intrigues of the priest Le Loutre. The commander of the troops, Winslow, was an American." *

Thus is history fabricated. The Compiler begat Parkman, Parkman begat Archibald, Archibald begat Goldwin Smith. By dint of repeated mutilations, step by step, they have succeeded in giving the lie to the received opinions of a whole century and in proclaiming to the world, in telling phrase, that the cruelty of this deportation is merely a nursery fable. There remains but one further step to take: let some still more audacious perverter of history affirm either that the deportation itself is a myth, or that the Acadians, if they were not ungrateful, ought to erect monuments to Lawrence, Belcher and Wilmot, because they did not exterminate them on the spot.

Of the writers mentioned above, the Compiler and Parkman are the only ones against whom there is overwhelming evidence of bad faith. The others erred through rashness in that they ventured on ground that was unknown to them ex-

* Goldwin Smith : *Canada and the Canadian Question*, p. 56.

cept through the descriptions of the garbling pair. For it is hardly necessary to emphasize the fact that Mr. Goldwin Smith, though dabbling in history for fifty years, has probably never gone in for original research, but has preferred to write, in admirable English, brilliant one-sided summaries and glittering, though seldom golden, generalizations. However, there is just one short sentence, in the passage I have quoted from him, which looks very much like bad faith "embalmed in barley-sugar" puerility. "The commander of the troops, Winslow," says this great word-monger, "was an American." Now, as these events took place twenty years before the Revolutionary War, there were at that time no Americans as distinguished from Britishers. Besides, Winslow was merely the local commander at Grand Pre ; there were three other such commanders, Handfield at Annapolis, Murray at Pigiguit, Monckton at Beaubassin, all three having nothing at all to do with the American provinces in what is now the United States. Yet, in the teeth of these well-known facts, Mr. Goldwin Smith tries, by an apparently simple statement, to shift the responsibility for the deportation on shoulders that ought not to bear that crushing weight. His covert insinuation means this : The cruelty of the deportation is a lying legend ; and at any rate, if it is not, British honor is safe, since he who commanded the troops was an American. Before Mr. Smith, no one ever accused Winslow of being the author of the deportation ; he merely carried out the orders of his superior, Lawrence. To ignore the Governor who concocted the whole scheme, and to throw the blame on one of the subordinate officers who obeyed his orders, is a piece of childish trifling unworthy of an intelligent school-girl. As for Longfellow, he needs no defence. His work is but a poem ; yet the conscientious historian will find more truth in his "barley-sugar" than in all the lofty sneers of Mr. Smith.

The following letter was addressed to me since this work has been put in the publisher's hands. It is from George

S. Brown, Esq., now of Boston, Mass., ex-M. P. P. for Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, and author of a valuable History of that county.

"I have read in the Montreal 'Herald' the Introduction to your forthcoming Book on Acadian History. The subject is of much interest to me, for I have made a special study of it as well as of the Acadians themselves, who are numerous in Yarmouth County, where more than fifty years of my life have been passed.

"I see that you charge Parkman with partiality, if not with dishonesty, in dealing with your subject. You are right; dishonesty seems to be the proper word, for he has evidently suppressed the truth when treating of the Acadian Expatriation of 1755. He has ignored, I am sorry to say, whatever tended to exhibit the deportation in its true light; he has garbled historic records to suit his purposes; he has explored every nook and corner to hunt up something disparaging to the Acadians, and he has taken no account of Haliburton, Andrew Brown, and other trustworthy writers.

"The Home Government not only did not aid or sanction the deportation, but they opposed it, as did also General Amherst, Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in North America. I have become conversant with the main facts since my book was published, but I had glimpses of them all along. Casgrain lets in some light, but there is much more to be said in the same direction. For the mere sake of truth and justice, I am glad that you lead the way, and that you expose Parkman's perversion of the facts of history, etc., etc."

After reading Mr. Brown's book (who by the way is a stranger to me), I wrote to him, saying, in substance, that his praise of Acadians seemed to me rather excessive. I here extract the following from his answer:

"In your letter you intimate that I might be held chargeable with undue partiality to the Acadians. I do not, and I stand ready to justify everything I have said of the Acadians of Yarmouth County with whom I have been long and intimately acquainted, and when I say that since the year 1761, when Yarmouth County was first settled by the English, there is not a case on record of an Acadian being charged with a capital crime,—that, though they number about 8,000, nearly one third of the population of the County, the occasions have been of the very rarest when the prison doors have been opened for an Acadian charged with an offence of even the most trivial nature, there is little danger of one's saying too much in their praise."

No. II.

(See Vol. I., page 344, and Vol. II., page 135).

LAWRENCE'S CHARACTER.*

SIR,

We are extremely obliged to you for your favor of the 30th July last and for your assiduity in our affairs.

We can assure you, sir, that we were almost without hopes of being considered as English subjects. The haughty and disdainful behavior of Governor Lawrence to all our remonstrances, though tendered with the utmost submission, gave us much reason to think he was countenanced at Home by those we had all the reason in the world heretofore to think were the patrons and principal supporters of this infant settlement, and specially when it was publicly declared by Governor Lawrence's creatures, that those gentlemen in office here, who had ever been solicitous to forward and promote the settlement and who had in every point behaved with honesty and integrity, specially the Judges of the courts of justice and some of the Council, would soon be displaced. They are the only men who have been the means of keeping the settlers from deserting in a body and supported the rights and liberties of the people.

Your letter has revived the hopes of the inhabitants, and

* *British Museum*.—Brown MSS.—Papers relating to Nova Scotia, 1748-1757.—Add. MSS., Vol. 19072. In 4 to fol. 43, No. 33.

At the top of this letter, A. B. Grosart of London, the owner of Brown's Manuscript, has added with his own hand:

"A long letter (sixteen closely written pages) addressed to some one in England by the Colonists concerning the state of the Province.

"This is a high-toned and most vigorous letter: and lays bare with most withering scorn the character of Governor Lawrence. It reminds one of the complaints of the elder Puritans in the days of Charles. . .

"This MS. most important.

it has been great comfort to them to find an Englishman in England who has their unhappy state and condition at heart and commiserates their bondage under oppression and tyranny.

We are sensible of the difficulties in England and the unsettled state of the Board of Trade which may retard our affairs; but, we are not without hopes, through your care and assiduity, that we shall meet with success in having an Assembly soon ordered to be established here; and we cannot help expressing our extreme satisfaction to find that it was the Lords of Trade's most earnest intention to have an Assembly instantly settled, as we are very sure it is of all things in the world the most necessary step to strengthen and establish this settlement and invite settlers to come and settle among us.

We cannot but express our most hearty sorrow that our good Lord Halifax has, at this critical juncture, resigned his place at the board. We are all to a man perfectly assured of that good Lord's sincere attachment to the welfare of the colonies, and look upon him truly as the father of this colony. We are fully persuaded that he will use his utmost endeavors to remove from us our oppressor and the oppressor of all his good purposes; a person unknown to him and recommended by persons on whom he relied and whom we are sure were not acquainted with his bad heart and mischievous intentions, one of whom is General Hopson, who has had sufficient reason to alter his opinion. The other is General Cornwallis, who is too much a friend to this people if he could be convinced of the ill-treatment and unjust oppression this tyrant Governor has been guilty of ever to countenance or support him.

These are all the friends Governor Lawrence has in England, for, on this side of the water, he has none, either of the inhabitants or gentlemen of the army who hold him in the utmost contempt, except those formerly mentioned to you, his agents in oppression. Perhaps you will be more surprised to hear how this governor who sometime ago was

only a painter's apprentice in London should have advanced himself to such heights. We are obliged to confess that he has a good address, a great deal of low cunning, is a most consummate flatterer, has words full of the warmest expressions of an upright intention to perform much good, though never intended, and with much art solicitously courts all strangers whom he thinks can be of any service to him. By these and such arts has he risen to be what he is, and, elated with his success, is outrageously bent upon the destruction of every one that does not concur in his measures.

We beg leave to make this remark which we desire you will read at the end of twelve months, that if he be not removed *Nova Scotia will be lost to the Crown of Great Britain, and the rest of the colonies be endangered of sharing the same fate*, which ought to be the utmost concern of every Englishman to prevent.

And, in order that you may in some measure understand the importance of this, he has prevailed with Lord Loudun to represent in England the necessity of placing this Colony under a military government, and of suspending the charters and laws of the other colonies, the consequence of which, we apprehend, would be a struggle in the colonies for liberty, and a consequence too fatal to name. And while the contentions subsist there, the French will penetrate in this Province: indeed they have no feasible conquest left them but this colony, and, if the others are deprived of their liberties, it is difficult to say what the effect will be, but the worst is to be feared.

We could say many things which nearly concern us about the affairs in this part of the world, but we are confident you will hear of them from better hands, for they must become public.

We cannot but express our most sincere acknowledgment of gratitude and thanks to the Right Honorable Mr. Pitt, that great patron of liberty, for the condescension he has shown in taking notice of our affairs; and, so far as

is reasonable and just, we doubt not of his concurrence and assistance to procure us redress.

In answer to your remarks, that the quorum of sixteen is too large for the proposed number of twenty-two deputies for the whole Assembly, it is also our opinion, but it was the resolve of Council.

Our desire of having all placemen excluded from the Assembly, was owing to the circumstances of the colony under our present Governor. The voters are almost dependants, the officers are wholly so, it would therefore be the Governor's Assembly and not the people's. Laws would be made according to his pleasure, and no grievance would be redressed. But if a Governor who has the welfare of the colony and the interest of the people, was appointed, this would be an immaterial point.

The reason why triennial Assemblies was proposed, was intended only for the first Assembly, in order to settle the colony under an English Assembly ; otherwise, foreigners, being the most numerous, and the time when they will be naturalized by a seven-years' residence near approaching, the future Assemblies might be mostly composed of foreigners, which might be dangerous to this frontier settlement.

As to the article of Judges, a good Governor will avail more for the advancement of justice, and then a good judge would be under no concern least he be displaced.

Another of the Governor's acts, is to misrepresent and abuse all below him. He has publicly called his Council a pack of scoundrels, the merchants a parcel of villains and bankrupts, and has represented in England the whole as a people discontented and rebellious. We have authority of his saying and declaring this from his own mouth in the presence of many officers both of the army and navy. Is it possible, sir, that people can be easy under such a Governor? We dare appeal to our two former Governors for our behavior under their administration, whose conduct to us was the very reverse of Governor Lawrence.

Believe us, sir, we are not captious. We are not that *turbulent people* we have been represented ; our interest obliges us to be otherwise ; we desire nothing inconsistent with the prerogatives of the Crown ; we desire none other than the liberties enjoyed by the other colonies, which His Majesty has graciously been pleased to promise by his Royal proclamation.

Our distresses have arisen from the malevolent disposition of Governor Lawrence and his creatures. Were they removed and a Governor of humanity appointed, one acquainted with the constitution of Englishmen and an Assembly settled, you would soon have the pleasure of hearing of the increase and success of this settlement, for we are well assured that 500 families would remove from Massachusetts and settle immediately here, as we know the offer has been made to Governor Lawrence and rejected upon their requiring an Assembly to be first established, in order that they might have proper laws for their regulation and security of their property.

As for evidence of people leaving the colony for want of an Assembly (those that are already gone), it would take time to collect them as they are dispersed in the colonies ; and though one hundred more families are upon the point of removing, they are extremely fearful of being denied passes if they should be found to have given such evidence, for you must know that Governor Lawrence obliges every master of a vessel to enter into bond, under a penalty of fifty pounds forfeiture, for every person they carry away without license obtained under his hand ; and, this is done without the least shadow of law or order of Council ; nor can any inhabitant go three miles from town without a certificate from a justice of the peace, so that Halifax is really a prison to all intents and purposes.

As for what you mention of the depositions not coming under the seal of the Province, we beg leave to inform you that it has never been allowed to be fixed to any papers but their own, instead whereof Governor Lawrence fixes his

private seal, and must see all the evidence or his secretary; therefore, to such kind of evidence it would be impossible to procure that, and, for want of the Province seal, many have suffered in their lawsuits in the neighboring colonies, or at the expense of sending witnesses where their suits have been depending, which are some among the many rights we are debarred of.

But we hope before this time many complaints have reached the ear of the Minister, and that it will shortly evidently appear, if it is not already manifest, that whilst Governor Lawrence has the least influence in American affairs, *so long will ruin and confusion attend them*. This truth, General Shirley in England, and Lord Charles Hay when he goes there, will, we are informed, make evident to demonstration, for it is generally believed, that, whatever specious crime may be alleged against Lord Charles Hay, his confinement was solely due to Governor Lawrence's insinuations to Lord Loudun, upon a private disgust to that Lord for examining too freely into the expenses of batteries, etc., etc., and speaking too contemptibly of what had been done for the mighty sums expended in Nova Scotia.

We had not touched upon those matters, but as we think Providence more immediately seems to concern itself in discovering the villainous arts of the authors of our calamities, and hope will direct its measures in pouring vengeance on the man whose sole aim seems to have been to blast the good intentions of his country and to make all subordinates to him miserable.

It is with pleasure we hear that the accounts of Nova Scotia will be strictly enquired into, as we are very sure, if they were sifted to the bottom, it will be found that not less than ten thousand pounds, of rum, molasses (of which there was not less than 30,000 gallons, which alone was worth £3,000), beef, pork, etc., etc., provisions and much merchandize for the supply of the Indians and French inhabitants were taken in Fort Beausejour, neither distributed as a reward to the captors nor accounted for, except some

small quantity of beef and pork sold to the Commissary Mr. Saul on Mr. Baker's supply, which was extremely bad and decayed, and certified by Governor Lawrence as provisions sent by Governor Shirley.

That the Transports were kept near three months after the French Neutrals were ready for embarkation at an immense expense, and the New England troops kept six months after their service was over, and this for two special reasons : one to oblige them to enlist into the regulars, and the other to defeat General Shirley in raising a sufficient number of troops necessary for the summer's campaign. By which means Oswego was lost, and the expedition to Crown Point rendered abortive. We appeal to General Shirley for the truth of this.

That the cattle, etc., etc., of the Acadians were converted to private uses, of which we know 3,600 hogs and near 1,000 head of cattle were killed and packed at Pigiguit alone and sent by water to other places; and what at other forts is yet a secret, all unaccounted for to the amount of a very large sum; and he and his Commissary are now under great perplexity, and contriving to cover this iniquitous fraud.

That £30,000 has been laid out on batteries not worth thirty pence for the defence of this place in the judgment of every person acquainted therewith.

It is possible he may produce vouchers to cover all his frauds, for, if the true ones should fall short, he has those under him who have been used to such kind of work and can readily supply the deficiency. But, if a Governor was sent out with orders to enquire into these, or at least to take depositions, we are very sure the whole will be clearly made to appear.

No. III.

(See Vol. II., page 235.)

PETITION OF THE ACADIANS DEPORTED TO PHILADELPHIA.

To His Most Excellent Majesty, King of Great Britain, etc., etc.

The humble Petition of his subjects, the late French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, formerly settled on the Bay of Minas, and rivers thereunto belonging; now residing in the Province of Pennsylvania, on behalf of themselves and the rest of the late inhabitants of the said bay, and also of those formerly settled on the river of Annapolis Royal, wheresoever dispersed.

May it please Your Majesty,

It is not in our power sufficiently to trace back the conditions upon which our ancestors first settled in Nova Scotia, under the protection of Your Majesty's predecessors, as the great part of our elders who were acquainted with these transactions are dead; but more specially because our papers, which contained our contracts, records, etc., etc., were, by violence, taken from us some time before the unhappy catastrophe which has been the occasion of the calamities we are now under; but we always understood the foundation thereof to be from an agreement made between Your Majesty's Commanders in Nova Scotia and our forefathers about the year 1713, whereby they were permitted to remain in the possession of their lands, under an oath of fidelity to the British Government, with an exemption from bearing arms, and the allowance of the free exercise of our religion.

It is a matter of certainty,—and within the compass of some of our memories—that in the year 1730, General

Philipps, the Governor of Nova Scotia, did, in Your Majesty's name, confirm unto us, and all the inhabitants of the whole extent of the Bay of Minas and rivers thereunto belonging, the free and entire possession of those lands we were then possessed of; which, by grants from the former French Government, we held to us and our heirs forever, on paying the customary quit-rents, etc., etc. And on condition that we should behave with due submission and fidelity to Your Majesty, agreeable to the oath which was then administered to us, which is as follows, viz.: "We sincerely promise and swear, by the faith of a Christian, that we shall be entirely faithful, and will truly submit ourselves to His Majesty King George, whom we acknowledge as sovereign Lord of New Scotland, or Acadia; so God help us."

And at the same time, the said General Philipps did, in like manner, promise the said French inhabitants, in Your Majesty's name, that they should have the true exercise of their religion, and be exempted from bearing arms, and from being employed in war, either against the French or Indians. Under the sanction of this solemn engagement we held our lands, made further purchases, annually paying our quit-rents, etc., etc.; and we had the greatest reason to conclude that Your Majesty did not disapprove of the above agreement, and that our conduct continued, during a long course of years, to be such as recommended us to your gracious protection, and to the regard of the Governor of New England, appears from a printed declaration, made seventeen years after this time, by His Excellency William Shirley, Governor of New England, which was published and dispersed in our country, some copies of which have escaped from the general destruction of most of our papers, part of which is as follows:

"By His Majesty's command,

"A declaration of William Shirley, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of Massachusetts' Bay, etc.

"To His Majesty's subjects, the French inhabitants of his province of Nova Scotia: Whereas, upon being informed that a report had been propagated among His Majesty's subjects, the French inhabitants of his Province of Nova Scotia, that there was an intention to remove them from their settlements in that Province, I did, by my declaration, dated 16th September, 1746, signify to them that the same was groundless, and that I was, on the contrary, persuaded that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to extend his royal protection to all such of them as should continue in their fidelity and allegiance to him, and in no wise abet or hold correspondence with the enemies of his crown; and therein assured them, that I would make a favourable representation of their state and circumstances to His Majesty, and did accordingly transmit a representation thereof to be laid before him, and have thereupon received his royal pleasure, touching his aforesaid subjects in Nova Scotia, *with his express commands to signify the same to them in his name: now, by virtue thereof, and in obedience to His Majesty's said orders*, I do hereby declare, in His Majesty's name, that there is not the least foundation for any apprehensions of His Majesty's intending to remove them, the said inhabitants of Nova Scotia, from their said settlements and habitations within the said Province; but that, on the contrary, it is His Majesty's resolution to protect and maintain all such of them as have adhered to and shall continue in their duty and allegiance to him, in the quiet and peaceable possession of their respective habitations and settlements, *and in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges as his subjects, etc., etc.*"

Dated at Boston, the 21st of October, 1747.

And this is farther confirmed by a letter, dated 29th of June, in the same year, wrote to our deputies by Mr. Mascarene, then Your Majesty's chief commander in Nova Scotia, which refers to Governor Shirley's first declaration, of which we have a copy, legally authenticated, part of which is as follows, viz.:

“As to the fear you say you labor under, on account of being threatened to evacuate the country, you have in possession His Excellency William Shirley's printed letter, whereby you may be made easy in that respect : you are sensible of the promises I have made to you, the effects of which you have already felt, that, I would protect you so long as, by your conduct and fidelity to the Crown of Great Britain, you would enable me to do so, which promise I do again repeat to you.”

Near the time of the publication of the before mentioned declaration, it was required that our deputies should, on behalf of all the people, renew the oath formerly taken to General Philipps, which was done without any mention of bearing arms, and we can with truth say, that we are not sensible of alteration in our disposition and conduct since that time ; but that we always continued to retain a grateful regard to Your Majesty and your Government, notwithstanding which, we have found ourselves surrounded with difficulties unknown to us before. Your Majesty determined to fortify our Province and settle Halifax ; which the French looking upon with jealousy, they made frequent incursions through our country, in order to annoy that settlement, whereby we came exposed to many straits and hardships ; yet, from the obligations we were under, from the oath we had taken, we were never under any doubt, but that it was our indispensable duty and interest, to remain true to your Government and our oath of fidelity, hoping that in time those difficulties would be removed, and we should see peace and tranquillity restored ; and if, from the change of affairs in Nova Scotia, Your Majesty had thought it not inconsistent with the safety of your said Province to let us remain there upon the terms promised us by your Governors, in Your Majesty's name, we should doubtless have acquiesced with any other reasonable proposal which might have been made to us, consistent with the safety of our aged parents, and tender wives and children ; and we are persuaded, if that had been the case,

wherever we had retired, we should have held ourselves under the strongest obligations of gratitude, from a thankful remembrance of the happiness we had enjoyed under Your Majesty's administration and gracious protection. About the time of the settlement of Halifax, General Cornwallis, Governor of Nova Scotia, did require that we should take the oath of allegiance without the exemption before allowed us of not bearing arms ; but this we absolutely refused, as being an infringement of the principal condition upon which our forefathers agreed to settle under the British Government.

And we acquainted Governor Cornwallis, that if Your Majesty was not willing to continue that exemption to us, we desired liberty to evacuate the country, proposing to settle on the Island of St. John, where the French Government was willing to let us have land ; which proposal he at that time refused to consent to, but told us he would acquaint Your Majesty therewith and return us an answer. But we never received an answer, nor was any proposal of that made to us until we were made prisoners.

After the settlement of Halifax we suffered many abuses and insults from Your Majesty's enemies, more specially from the Indians in the interest of the French, by whom our cattle was killed, our houses pillaged, and many of us personally abused and put in fear of our lives, and some even carried away prisoners towards Canada, solely on account of our resolution steadily to maintain our oath of fidelity to the English Government ; particularly Rene LeBlanc—our public notary—was taken prisoner by the Indians when actually travelling in Your Majesty's service, his house pillaged, and himself carried to the French fort, from whence he did not recover his liberty but with great difficulty, after four years, captivity.

We were likewise obliged to comply with the demand of the enemy, made for provisions, cattle, etc., etc., upon pain of military execution, which we had reason to believe the Government was made sensible was not an act of choice on

our part, but of necessity, as those in authority appeared to take in good part the representations we always made to them after anything of that nature had happened.

Notwithstanding the many difficulties we thus laboured under, yet we dare appeal to the several Governors, both at Halifax and Annapolis Royal, for testimonies of our being always ready and willing to obey their orders, and give all the assistance in our power, either in furnishing provisions and materials, or making roads, building forts, etc., etc., agreeable to Your Majesty's orders, and our oath of fidelity, whensoever called upon, or required thereunto.

It was also our constant care to give notice to Your Majesty's commanders, of the danger they from time to time have been exposed to by the enemy's troops, and had the intelligence we gave been always attended to, many lives might have been spared, particularly in the unhappy affair which befell Major Noble and his brother at Grand Pre, when they, with great numbers of their men were cut off by the enemy, notwithstanding the frequent advices we had given them of the danger they were in ; and yet we have been very unjustly accused as parties in that massacre.

And although we have been thus anxiously concerned to manifest our fidelity in these several respects, yet it has been falsely insinuated, that it had been our general practice to abet and support Your Majesty's enemies ; but we trust that Your Majesty will not suffer suspicions and accusations to be received as proof sufficient to reduce thousands of innocent people, from the most happy situation to a state of the greatest distress and misery. No, this was far from our thoughts ; we esteemed our situation so happy as by no means to desire a change.

We have always desired, and again desire that we may be permitted to answer our accusers in a judicial way. In the meantime permit us, sir, here solemnly to declare, that these accusations are utterly false and groundless, so far as they concern us as a collective body of people. It hath been always our desire to live as our fathers have done, as faith-

ful subjects under Your Majesty's royal protection, with an unfeigned resolution to maintain our oath of fidelity to the utmost of our power. Yet it cannot be expected but that amongst us, as well as amongst other people, there have been some weak and false-hearted persons, susceptible of being bribed by the enemy so as to break the oath of fidelity. Twelve of these were outlawed in Governor Shirley's Proclamation before mentioned ; but it will be found that the number of such false-hearted men amongst us were very few, considering our situation, the number of our inhabitants, and how we stood circumstanced in several respects ; and it may easily be made to appear that it was the constant care of our Deputies to prevent and put a stop to such wicked conduct when it came to their knowledge.

We understand that the aid granted to the French by the inhabitants of Beaubassin has been used as an argument to accelerate our ruin ; but we trust that Your Majesty will not permit the innocent to be involved with the guilty ; no consequence can be justly drawn, that, because those people yielded to the threats and persuasions of the enemy we should do the same. They were situated so far from Halifax as to be in a great measure out of the protection of the English Government, which was not our case ; we were separated from them by sixty miles of uncultivated land, and had no other connection with them than what is usual with neighbors at such a distance ; and we can truly say, we looked on their defection from Your Majesty's interest with great pain and anxiety. Nevertheless, not long before our being made prisoners, the house in which we kept our contracts, records, deeds, etc., was invested with an armed force, and all our papers violently carried away, none of which have to this day been returned us, whereby we are in a great measure deprived of means of making our innocence and the justness of our complaints appear in their true light.

Upon our sending a remonstrance to the Governor and Council, of the violence that had been offered us by the

seizure of our papers, and the groundless fears the Government appeared to be under on our account, by their taking away our arms, no answer was returned to us ; but those who had signed the remonstrance, and some time after sixty more, in all about eighty of our elders, were summoned to appear before the Governor in Council, which they immediately complied with ; and it was required of them that they should take the oath of allegiance without the exemption which, during a course of nearly fifty years, has been granted to us and to our fathers, of not being obliged to bear arms, and which was the principal condition upon which our ancestors agreed to remain in Nova Scotia, when the rest of the inhabitants evacuated the country ; which, as it was contrary to our inclination and judgment, we hought ourselves engaged in duty absolutely to refuse. Nevertheless, we freely offered, and would gladly have renewed our oath of fidelity, but this was not accepted, and we were all immediately made prisoners, and were told by the Governor, that our estates, both real and personal, were forfeited for Your Majesty's use. As to those who remained at home, they were summoned to appear before the commanders in the forts, which, we showing some fear to comply with, on account of the seizure of our papers, and imprisonment of so many of our elders, we had the greatest assurance given us, that there was no other design but to make us renew our former oath of fidelity ; yet, as soon as we were within the fort, the same judgment was passed on us as had been passed on our brethren at Halifax, and we were also made prisoners.

Thus, notwithstanding the solemn grants made to our fathers by General Philipps, and the declaration made by Governor Shirley and M. Mascarene in Your Majesty's name, that it was Your Majesty's resolution to protect and maintain all such of us as should continue in their duty and allegiance to Your Majesty, in the quiet and peaceable possession of their settlements, and the enjoyment of all their rights and privileges as Your Majesty's subjects ; we found

ourselves at once deprived of our liberties, without any judicial process, or even without any accusers appearing against us, and this solely grounded on mistaken jealousies and false suspicions that we are inclinable to take part with Your Majesty's enemies. But we again declare that that accusation is groundless ; it was our fixed resolution to maintain, to the utmost of our power, the oath of fidelity which we had taken, not only from a sense of indispensable duty, but also because we were well satisfied with our situation under Your Majesty's Government and protection, and did not think it could be bettered by any change which could be proposed to us. It has also been falsely insinuated that we held the opinion that we might be absolved from our oath so as to break it with impunity, but this we likewise solemnly declare to be a false accusation, and which we plainly evinced by our exposing ourselves to so great losses and sufferings rather than take the oath proposed to the Governor and Council, because we apprehended we could not in conscience comply therewith.

Thus we, our ancient parents and grandparents—men of great integrity and approved fidelity to Your Majesty—and our innocent wives and children, became the unhappy victims to those groundless fears ; we were transported into the English Colonies, and this was done in so much haste, and with so little regard to our necessities and the tenderest ties of nature, that from the most social enjoyments, and affluent circumstances, many found themselves destitute of the necessaries of life. Parents were separated from children, husbands from wives, some of whom have not to this day met again ; and we were so crowded in the transport vessels, that we had not room even for all our bodies to lay down at once, and consequently were prevented from carrying with us proper necessaries, especially for the support and comfort of the aged and weak, many of whom quickly ended their misery with their lives. And even those amongst us who had suffered deeply from Your Majesty's enemies, on account of their attachment to Your Majesty's

Government, were equally involved in the common calamity, of which Rene LeBlanc, the Notary Public before mentioned, is a remarkable instance. He was seized, confined, and brought away among the rest of the people, and his family, consisting of twenty children, and about one hundred and fifty grandchildren, were scattered in different colonies, so that he was put on shore at New York, with only his wife and two youngest children, in an infirm state of health, from whence he joined three more of his children at Philadelphia, where he died without any more notice being taken of him than any of us, notwithstanding his many years' labor and deep sufferings for Your Majesty's service.

The miseries we have since endured are scarce sufficiently to be expressed, being reduced for a livelihood to toil and hard labor in a southern clime, so disagreeable to our constitutions that most of us have been prevented by sickness from procuring the necessary subsistence for our families; and therefore are threatened with that which we esteem the greatest aggravation of all our sufferings, even of having our children forced from us, and bound out to strangers and exposed to contagious distempers unknown in our native country.

This, compared with the affluence and ease we enjoyed, shows our condition to be extremely wretched. We have already seen in this Province of Pennsylvania two hundred and fifty of our people, which is more than half the number that were landed here, perish through misery and various diseases. In this great distress and misery, we have, under God, none but Your Majesty to look to with hopes of relief and redress :

We therefore hereby implore your gracious protection, and request you may be pleased to let the justice of our complaints be truly and impartially enquired into, and that Your Majesty would please to grant us such relief, as in your justice and clemency you will think our case requires, and we shall hold ourselves bound to pray, etc.

No. IV.

(See Vol. II., page 237.)

A relation of the misfortunes of the *French Neutrals*, as laid before the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania by Jean Baptiste Galerne, one of the said people.

ABOUT the year 1713, when Annapolis Royal was taken from the French, our fathers being then settled on the Bay of Fundy, upon the surrender of that country to the English, had, by virtue of the treaty of Utrecht, a year granted them to remove with their effects; but aggrieved at the idea of losing the fruits of so many years' labor, they chose rather to remain there and become the subjects of Great Britain, on the condition that they might be exempted from bearing arms against France, most of them having near relations amongst the French, which they might have destroyed with their own hands, had they consented to bear arms against them.

This request they always understood to be granted, on their taking the Oath of Fidelity to Her Majesty Queen Anne; which Oath of Fidelity was by us, about 27 years ago, renewed to His Majesty King George by General Philipps, who then allowed us an exemption from bearing arms against France; which exemption, till lately (that we were told to the contrary), we always thought was approved by the king.

Our Oath of Fidelity, we that are now brought into this Province, as those of our people that have been carried into neighboring Provinces, have always invariably observed, and have, on all occasions, been willing to afford every assistance in our power to His Majesty's Governors, in erecting forts, making roads, bridges, etc., etc., and provid-

ing for His Majesty's service, as can be testified by the several Governors and officers that have commanded in His Majesty's Province in Nova Scotia ; and this, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations, threats, and abuses which we have continually, more or less, suffered from the French and Indians of Canada on that account, particularly ten years ago, when 500 French and Indians came to our settlements, intending to attack Annapolis Royal, which, had their intention succeeded, would have made them masters of all Nova Scotia, it being the only place of strength then in that Province, they earnestly solicited us to join with, and aid them therein ; but we, persisting in our resolution to abide true to our Oath of Fidelity, and absolutely refusing to give them any assistance, they gave over their intention, and returned to Canada.

And, about seven years past, at the settling of Halifax, a body of 150 Indians came amongst us, forced some of us from our habitations, and by threats and blows would have compelled us to assist them in waylaying and destroying the English, then employed in erecting forts in different parts of the country ; but, positively refusing, they left us, after having abused us and made great havoc of our cattle, etc., etc. I myself was six weeks before I wholly recovered of the blows received at that time.

Almost numberless are the instances which might be given of the abuses and losses we have undergone from the French Indians, on account of our steady adherence to our Oath of Fidelity ; and yet, notwithstanding our strict observance thereof, we have not been able to prevent the grievous calamity which is now come upon us, and which we apprehend to be in great measure owing to the unhappy situation and conduct of some of our people at Beausejour, at the bottom of the Bay of Fundy, where the French erected a Fort. Those of our people who were settled near it, after having had many of their settlements burnt by the French, being too far from Halifax and Annapolis Royal to expect needed assistance from the English, were obliged, as

we believe, more through compulsion and fear than inclination, to join with and assist the French, as it appears from the articles of capitulation of Fort Beausejour, agreed on between Colonel Monckton and the French commander, at the delivery of the said Fort to the English, which is exactly in the following words:

“ With regard to the Acadians, as they have been forced to take up arms on pain of death, they shall be pardoned for the part they have been taking.”

Notwithstanding this, as the conduct of these people had given just umbrage to the Government, and created suspicion to the prejudice of our whole community, we were summoned to appear before the Governor and Council at Halifax, where we were required to take the oath of allegiance without our former exemption, which we could not comply with, because, as the Government was then situated, we apprehended we should have been obliged to take up arms, but we offered to take the Oath of Fidelity, and gave the strongest assurances of continuing peaceable and faithful to His Britannic Majesty with that exception. This, in the situation of affairs, not being satisfactory, we were made prisoners; and our estates, both real and personal, forfeited to the king. Vessels being provided, we were sometime after sent off with most of our families, and dispersed among the English colonies. The hurry and confusion in which we were embarked was an aggravating circumstance attending our misfortunes; for, thereby, many who have lived in affluence, found themselves deprived of every necessary, many families were separated, parents from children and children from parents.

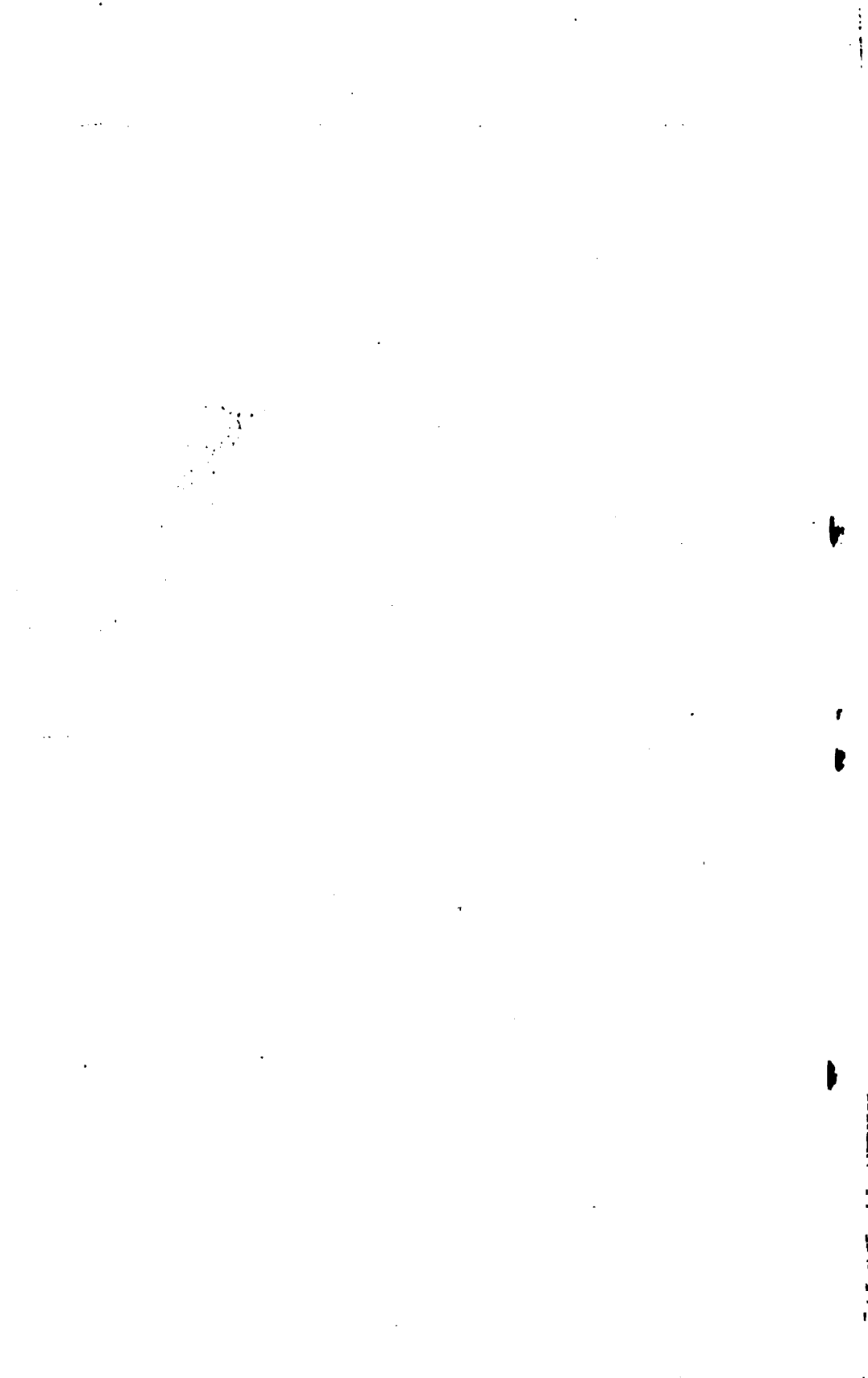
Yet, blessed be God that it was our lot to be sent to Pennsylvania, where our wants have been relieved, and where we have in every respect been received with Christian benevolence and charity. Let me add, that, notwithstanding the suspicions and fears which many seem to be possessed of on our account, as though we were a dangerous people, who make little scruple of breaking our oaths, time

will make it manifest that we are not such a people. No; the unhappy situation which we are now in is a plain evidence that this has no foundation and tends to aggravate the misfortunes of an already too unhappy people; for, had we entertained such pernicious sentiments, we might easily have prevented our falling into the melancholy circumstances we are now in, viz., deprived of our substance, banished from our native country, and reduced to live from charity in a strange land; and this, for refusing to take an oath which Christianity absolutely forbids us to violate, had we once taken it, and yet an oath which we could not comply with without being exposed to plunge our swords in the breasts of our relations and friends.

We shall, however, as we have hitherto done, submit to what, in the present situation of affairs, may seem necessary, and with patience and resignation bear whatever God, in the course of His Providence, shall suffer to come upon us. We shall also think it our duty to seek and promote the peace of the country into which we are transported, and inviolably keep the Oath of Fidelity that we have taken to His Gracious Majesty King George, whom we firmly believe, when fully acquainted with our faithfulness and sufferings, will commiserate our unhappy condition and order some compensation for our losses. And may the Almighty abundantly bless His Honour the Governor, the Honourable Assembly of this Province and the good people of Philadelphia, whose sympathy, benevolence and Christian charity, have been, and still are, greatly manifested and extended toward us, a poor, distressed and afflicted people, is the sincere and earnest prayer of

JEAN BAPTISTE GALERNE.





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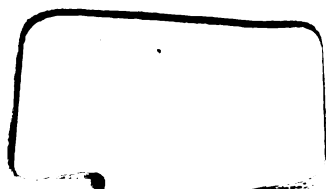
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